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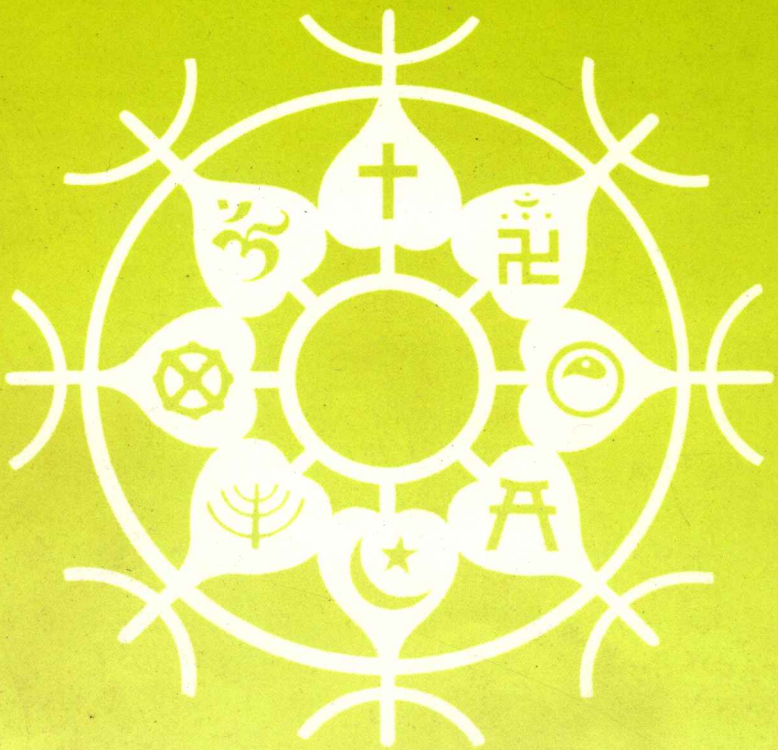

RELIGION, ECONOMICS AND DEVELOPMENT

October-December 2007 Vol. 32, No. 4

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Editorial

RELIGION, ECONOMICS, AND DEVELOPMENT

As clouds are thickening on the horizons of economic boom and uncertainties galore, many are panicking: as far as the skyrocketing expenses go, individuals are worried about meeting both ends together; business corporations are worried about the ways and means of keeping up the trend of upward growth and huge profit margins; the nations are worried about maintaining the economic-bubble stable, even if other nations are on the verge of an economic collapse. Indeed, the signs of the times do not seem to be really promising. As more loss is on the anvil, the immediate future looks quite bleak, especially as far as the regional and global economies and developmental regimes are concerned.

As *Journal of Dharma* launches this issue on "Religion, Economics, and Development," our contributors make an earnest attempt to look into some of the issues involved in economic development, especially in its relation to religion. Although religion apparently remains aloof from the mundane affairs, its nature as a catalyst to enhance human welfare and the common good indicates that it has a vital role to play, especially in the trying times that people across the globe are passing through due to the predicted economic doom. Religion's ability to inspire and motivate its votaries, with nobler thoughts and righteous actions, must instil hope in the lives of all.

We are in need of realizing that material development alone would not suffice; our investment shall not be restricted to the mundane realms; life, in fact, is more than economics and commerce, although they do have a key role to play in enabling us to lead a decent human life. Being and becoming human and leading a personally and socially enhancing life, basically presuppose that human beings – individually and collectively – open themselves up to others – not to amass others' riches, but to give and share with a sense of cooperation and common good.

In order to bring hope to the millions who have lost their hope amidst the evolving economic and developmental crisis, religions need to resurrect their own vital spiritual resources and enable the believers to strike a proper balance between self-oriented developmental thrusts and other-oriented holistic welfare orientations.

Saju Chackalackal
Chief Editor, JD

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RELIGION AND THE ETHICS OF DEVELOPMENT

Siby K. George♦

1. Introduction

Do religions aid or bar development? Well, they do both: they assist and obstruct development. Faith-based organizations (FBOs) and religious groups champion development with rare commitment and passion. At the same time, role of religious actors and dogmas behind intolerance, authoritarianism, gender inequality, passivity, fund consumption, and obstruction of development work is well known. On account of an inflated understanding of religion as an impediment to development, sometimes, religion is suggested to be kept out of development practice, forgetting the fact that religion and development have had an intimate relation whether for good or ill.[1] Sociological studies of religion, like Max Weber's path-breaking *The Protestant Ethic* (1905-06), point out that even for a purely economic conception of development, religion has been a definitive inspiration. Weber writes referring to the Protestant ethic:

> ... the *summum bonum* of this ethic, the earning of more and more money, combined with the strict avoidance of all spontaneous enjoyment of life, is above all completely devoid of any eudaemonistic, not to say hedonistic, admixture.[2]

Religion, as a social phenomenon, is inseparably tied with the processes, programmes, ideologies, assumptions, and workings of the development act, as Leah Selinger rightly asserts: "... religion, as a central and definitive element of culture, has to be addressed if development is to be both successful and sustainable."[3]

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[1]Sabina Alkire, "Religion and Development," in *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*, ed. David Clark, Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2006, 502.

[2]Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976, 53.

[3]Leah Selinger, "The Forgotten Factor: The Uneasy Relationship between Religion and Development," *Social Compass* 51, 4 (2004), 524.

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In this article we look at the intimate relationship between religion and development from a 'development ethics perspective', beginning with a very brief account of what this ethics is.

2. Development Ethics

Taking inspiration from the early twentieth century critics of development understood as economic growth, industrialization, modernization and, most of all, westernization, like Mahatma Gandhi, Denis Goulet (1931-2006),[4] an American existentialist thinker with tremendous field experience in Latin America and Sri Lanka, pioneered the interdisciplinary field of study called 'development ethics'. Let us begin with his own understanding of the field of study he virtually founded.

> ... [T]he task of development ethics is to assure that the painful changes launched under the banner of development do not result in antidevelopment, which destroys cultures and individuals and exacts undue sacrifices in suffering and societal wellbeing – all in the name of profit, some absolutized ideology, or a supposed efficiency imperative.[5]

In his tour de force, *The Cruel Choice* (1971), Goulet notes:

> Although development can be studied as an economic, political, educational, or social phenomenon, its ultimate goals are those of existence itself: to provide all men with the opportunity to live full human lives. Thus understood, development is the ascent of all men and societies in their total humanity.[6]

Development ethics comes across as a critique of development, or rather, of what masquerades as development. It is an effort at pointing out what a morally defensible development is. In *The Cruel Choice*, Goulet shows the 'dialectic process of development' as leaving good as well as bad effects, construction as well as destruction. A common, defiant and resigned interpretation of this dialectics given by 'development experts' (whom

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[4]A fresh biographical article on Goulet's contribution to the field of development ethics is: Des Gasper, "Denis Goulet and the Project of Development Ethics: Choices in Methodology, Focus and Organization," Working Paper, No. 456, The Hague: Institute of Social Studies, 2008.

[5]Denis Goulet, "Development Ethics: A New Discipline," *International Journal of Social Economics* 24, 11 (1997), 1169.

[6]Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in the Theory of Development*, New York: Athenaeum, 1978, x.

Goulet calls 'one-eyed-giants'[7]) is 'you cannot have your cake and eat it'. If you want to go for development, then you better be prepared for some of its ill effects. But development ethicists think otherwise. They think that 'development' is a dynamic human engagement and is not something like a stone set in motion from the hilltop, which could stop only at the foot of the hill. They believe that human agents can work upon the processes of development, change their direction, and plan them ethically for liberating humans from their unfreedoms, if they so will.

Growth in the field of development ethics has been modest,[8] but steady. Theoretically, it has been strongly influenced in recent times by Amartya Sen's capability approach. But the tendency to identify this inquiry entirely with the capability approach is presently resisted, and this resistance is said to be an attempt at deepening development ethics.[9] Several introductory treatments of development ethics are now available,[10] as well as specific issue-based studies.[11] Of the latter, an example would be Goulet's study of "Value Conflicts in Technology Transfers to the Third World" in his *The Uncertain Promise* (1977).[12]

Goulet points out two major ways in which development ethics is practised: an inductive practice-to-theory approach of development policy planners and experts articulating ethical dilemmas and their solutions, and a deductive theory-to-practice approach of ethicists elaborating normative

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[7]Denis Goulet, "Development Experts: The One-Eyed Giants," *World Development* 8, 7 (1980), 481-489.

[8]For a somewhat comprehensive and annotated bibliography of the literature related to the broad area of development ethics, see: David Crocker and Stephen Schwenge, *The Relevance of Development Ethics for USAID*, Washington, DC: Management Systems International, 2005, 31-38.

[9]See Des Gasper and T. D. Truong, "Deepening Development Ethics: From Economism to Human Development to Human Security," *European Journal of Development Research* 17, 3 (2005), 372-384.

[10]See David A. Clark, "Development Ethics: A Research Agenda," *International Journal of Social Economics* 29, 11 (2002), 830-348; David A. Crocker, "Development Ethics," *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, Digital Version 1.0, London: Routledge, 1998; Denis Goulet, *Development Ethics at Work: Explorations 1960-2002*, London: Routledge, 2006; Des Gasper, *The Ethics of Development: From Economism to Human Development*, New Delhi: Vistaar, 2005.

[11]Gasper and Truong, "Deepening Development Ethics."

[12]Denis Goulet, *The Uncertain Promise: Value Conflicts in Technology Transfer*, New York: IDOC/North America, 1977.

ethical solutions to development dilemmas from their ethical stances.[13] Crocker points out several agreements and contestations prevailing in development ethics. He contends that there is a wide range of consensus among development ethicists on the need to bridge the inhuman gap between affluence and poverty, the recognition of the ethical and value dimension of development and growth, the multidimensionality of development as a discipline, the need for theory-practice interaction, the role of rich nations in reducing abject poverty in the developing world, the realization that economic growth has also created grave problems, the global canvass upon which their work needs to be placed, the need for development work to be context-sensitive and the usual rejection of extremes like conspicuous consumption, marked inequality, authoritarian egalitarianism as in totalitarianism. Among contentious issues is the scope of development ethics (ethics of third world development or international development?), status of the moral norms to be applied for critique (universal, particularistic or both?), pattern of distribution of the benefits of development as championed by globalization (utilitarian, Rawlsian, libertarian, socialistic, capability approach?), pattern of resolving moral dilemmas (majoritarian democratic means or use of expert opinions of judges, development experts, etc.?), ambiguity about the teleological goal of development (creation of wealth, wellbeing, human development?), dilemma about the agency/institution responsible for global destitution (World Bank or UNO), etc.[14]

The usually quoted sources of development ethics are a series of historical activists and theoreticians on the biggest canvass, who challenged the idea of development as economic growth. For Goulet, the precursors of development ethics are (i) M. K. Gandhi (1869-1948), a staunch critic of colonial economy and the father figure of Indian freedom movement, (ii) Louis-Joseph Lebret (1897-1966), a French Catholic priest, advocate of economy in the service of human being ('human economy') and founder of the magazine *Économie et Humanisme* in 1940 and *Developpement et Civilisations* in 1960, and (iii) Gunnar Myrdal (1898-1987), a Swedish economist, political scientist and winner of 1974 Nobel Prize in economics, known for diverging from his early pure economics concerns to social and political angles of economics.[15] Gasper gives a list

[13]Goulet, "Development Ethics: A New Discipline," 1166.

[14]Crocker and Schwenge, *The Relevance of Development Ethics for USAID*, 7-15.

[15]Goulet, "Development Ethics: A New Discipline," 1161-64.

inclusive of Goulet's three sources and much more: John Locke (1632-1704), Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), John Stuart Mill (1806-73), Karl Marx (1818-1883), Mao-Tse-Tung (1893-1976), Julius Nyerere (the first prime minister of Tanzania and advocate of peaceful change [1922-1999]), the international human rights movement, the championing of a religious global ethic by dissident Catholic priest and theologian Hans Küng, Denis Goulet (1931-2006), American sociologist and Lutheran theologian Peter Berger, English economist and founder of Intermediate Technology Movement E. F. Schumacher (1911-1977), and Amartya Sen's decisive contribution to human development and capability approach.[16] Crocker includes in his list of influences on development ethics, the Anglo-American applied ethics debates on the responsibility of citizens of rich nations to relieve poverty in poor nations and the Catholic theological movement originated in Latin America, liberation theology, championed by the Peruvian Dominican priest, Gustavo Gutiérrez.[17]

At the outset, the reader may notice a definite way in which religion, non-religion, freedom struggle, economics, social sciences and, truly, a singular thought for destitute humanity in the midst of abundance, have given rise to the field of study called development ethics. Now, from the perspective of development ethics, let us try to see the engagement between religion and development.

3. Religion and Holistic Development Vision

Religion, when understood from its spiritual core, usually provides a much broader concept of development than economic progress. In most of the noticeably successful interchanges between religion and development work, such a broader conception has been visible. "For them, the debate about development is a deeper one, related to an understanding of what it means to be human."[18] Referring to cases of faith-based development work like the Buddhism-inspired Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, Hinduism-inspired *Swadhyaya* movement in India, Muslim organizations in Africa and the Middle East, and instances of Christianity-inspired development works all over the developing world, Wendy Tyndale comes to the above conclusion. Scriptures as well as spiritual

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[16]Gasper, *The Ethics of Development*, 16-18.

[17]Crocker and Schwenge, *The Relevance of Development Ethics for USAID*, 2.

[18]Wendy Tyndale, "Idealism and Practicality: The Role of Religion in Development," *Development* 46, 4 (2003), 23.

leaders have time and again upheld the spiritual ideal of development. Pope Paul VI wrote in 1967: "Development cannot be limited to mere economic growth. In order to be authentic, it must be complete: integral, that is, it has to promote the good of every man and of the whole man."[19] Development institutions' resistance to involve religious personnel and organizations in development is attributed by Tyndale to the unsupported fear of resistance to change, and mainly to the different, more holistic and qualitative rather than quantitative vision of development religions have. However, realizing the effectiveness of the type of change that an involvement with religion can bring about, UN agencies, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and such other organs of development have recently begun development dialogues with religions. A monumental achievement that asserted the complementary role of religion in development was the World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD), set up in 1998.[20]

A spiritual vision of development is certainly more holistic and looks at the entire human person and the quality of her life. Schumacher writes: "The quality of life – not the quantity – yes, that's what matters. GNP, being a purely quantitative concept, bypasses the real question: how to enhance the quality of life."[21] A characteristic aim of development ethics, as a subject matter that arose from certain disenchantment with the way development was pursued, was to champion qualitative and holistic development. Since religion, when it is interpreted from its core rather than its peripherals, is supportive of this goal, and since religion has contributed to development practice in the twentieth century, development ethics does not look at religion as a necessary evil that might be tolerated.

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[19]Paul VI, "Encyclical Letter *Populorum Progressio*" (26 March 1967), cited in Gregory Baum, "Solidarity with the Poor," in *The Lab, the Temple and the Market: Reflection at the Intersection of Science, Religion and Development*, ed. Sharon M. P. Harper, Bloomfield, USA: Kumarian Press, 2000, 83.

[20]Visit http://www.wfdd.org.uk/. The website has useful material on religion and development, and case studies of successful faith-based practice of development. In 1980, the journal, *World Development*, dedicated a special issue on the question of development and religion: Charles Wilber and Kenneth Jameson, eds., special issue entitled "Religious Values and Development," *World Development* 8 (1980), 7-8. For the religious vision of development, a more holistic vision, especially in Hinduism, Islam, and Roman Catholicism, see, Harper, *The Lab, the Temple and the Market*.

[21]E. F. Schumacher, *Good Work*, New Delhi: BI Publications, 1979, 126.

For Goulet, the problem of development experts' and modernizers' assumption that religion is detrimental to development is based on their uncritical acceptance of secularism, which he contrasts with secularization. For him, secularism is the philosophy of reducing the world of values to secular matters, whereas secularization is recognizing the values of the world, the secular values, as decisive in human affairs and accepting them, not anymore as trivial matters in comparison to eternal matters, but wholeheartedly as matters that call for the complete dedication of all members of the society. Hence, Gandhi and other leaders of the developing world, readily accepted secularization, a practical step, but not the philosophy of secularism, which, for them is untenable. But the development experts, often, conduct themselves as though secularism is an essential ingredient of development, and this enrages a lot of people in the developing world. "Local communities, and occasionally whole nations, can turn against power-wielders whom they perceive as coercively secularistic, and not merely secularizing."[22]

For Goulet, the treatment of religious values by development experts is only symptomatic of how the whole pack of traditional wisdom, which together makes up a person's/community's 'existence rationality'[23] – a rationality that is not so much scientific but pragmatic enough to solve the existential dilemmas of life – which is treated with scant respect by the technocrats of modernization. For him, calculative rationality can never yield a satisfactory relationship between humans and nature, even in the midst of an ecological crisis, but a traditional vision, enmeshed in a religious worldview, can and it already is. Hence, why it needs to be disrupted, torn asunder and disfigured, in order to cultivate development? Thus, he defends both indigenous knowledge and the religious worldview. Referring to Sri Lanka's *Sarvodaya Shramadana* Movement, Goulet shows how its Buddhist philosophy of the four noble truths helps it to build a holistic development philosophy:

> In Sri Lanka, there is indeed a problem; underdevelopment, with its train of ills – poverty, disease, inertia, lack of self-confidence, hopelessness. And this evil has a cause: social exploitation which

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[22]Denis Goulet, "In Defense of Cultural Rights: Technology, Tradition and Conflicting Models of Rationality," *Human Rights Quarterly* 3, 4 (1981), 11-12.

[23]It is a "*process* by which a society devises a conscious strategy for obtaining its goals, given its ability to process information and the constraints weighing upon it." Goulet, *The Cruel Choice*, 188.

> roots poor and powerless people in passivity. Nevertheless, there exists a hope of improving: not by awaiting favors from well-disposed politicians or benefactors, but by getting organized to solve problems collectively. Finally, there are ways of acting effectively: tools, instruments, techniques, work plans which are to be tried out in concrete experience, translated into training curricula, and then widely disseminated in ways accessible to all.[24]

Goulet refers to the Sri Lankan movement as one that "promotes a non-elite people's development which subordinates material improvement and technological modernization to a larger vision of human well-being in harmony with the Buddhist notion of full awakening."[25]

From a 'development ethics' perspective, it needs to be noted that the disenchantment felt over the narrowly economistic understanding of development, does show the relevance and the perennial vibrancy of the spiritual vision of development. In another lively discussion, Goulet notes that people in developing countries still find in religions their primary source of meaning and value. Doing without these in development work is a bad choice for Goulet. He concludes:

> A growing chorus of voices, in rich and poor countries alike, proclaim that full human development is not possible without regard for essential religious values. These voices assert that achievements in political, social, economic, technical, artistic and scientific realms do not exhaust the creativity, beauty or triumphs of which human beings are capable. Development's pressing imperatives will doubtless oblige religious practitioners to change many of their ancient symbols and practices. And conversely, it is to be hoped, the resiliency of critically tested religious value systems will invite development experts to enrich their own diagnoses and prescriptions for action. Both categories of one-eyed giants may perhaps come to acknowledge that they need each other if they are, jointly, to gain a wisdom to match modem sciences.[26]

Mahatma Gandhi, working from a deeply spiritual vision, strove to merge his vision of a developed free India with his religious values rather than separate the two in the western model of secularism: separation between

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[24]Goulet, "In Defense of Cultural Rights," 14.

[25]Goulet, "In Defense of Cultural Rights," 13.

[26]Denis Goulet, "Development Experts: The One-Eyed Giants," *World Development* 8, 7 (1980), 488.

state and religion. At the same time, he was a true cosmopolitan who believed in the genuine toleration of all faiths and in the moral unity of humanity across all boundaries.[27] A lot of research efforts analyzing the association or dissociation of the orthodox development ideal with Hinduism are available. But, in an interesting analysis, Oommen points out that all religions and particular sects may have elements both favourable and unfavourable for economic development, and Hinduism, broadly construed, also has both these elements. This he posits against the Weber thesis that Hinduism, with a certain version of fatalism enshrined in the theory of Karma, its rigid classical social stratification, and its other-worldly orientation, may not contribute much to economic development, just like Catholicism did not.[28] Promilla Kapur's study points to the positive force of Hinduism for a new development vision:

> The present generation, I think, can do little more than lay the groundwork of an ultimately 'united' world. It is exactly in this process that the Hindu religion, for me, offers such valuable resources: its syncretic and pluralistic history and its concept of an ultimate Oneness provide an alternative outlook and an important balance to the divisive effect of modern systems and materialistic mindsets.[29]

The Human Development Reports, brought out by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), with its popular indexing of countries according to their human development and not their GNP, is a recognition of the broader development vision. Philosopher Aristotle noted that wealth was not the true end of our endeavour but something beyond wealth. Similarly, for Immanuel Kant, in all our endeavours, we ought to treat humanity, whether it is in our person or in another, as the end and never merely as a means. These philosophers, religions, and traditional wisdom had a broader vision of development than the narrow view of

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[27]I have argued this point in my paper, "Porous Frontiers, Porous Faces: The Self as Opening towards the World," to be presented at the Second Biennial Conference of the International Global Ethics Association, 26-28 June 2008, at Deakin University, Meldbourne. See also, David Hardiman, *Gandhi in His Time and Ours*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003.

[28]T. K. Oommen, "Religion and Development in Hindu Society," *Social Compass* 39, 1 (1992), 67-75.

[29]Promilla Kapur, "The Principal of Fundamental Oneness," in *The Lab, the Temple and the Market*, 9.

economic growth. Human development was defined by the very first HDR of 1990 as enhancing people's choices so that they could live a fulfilling human life, as befitting the dignity of human persons. The very first paragraph of that report says:

> People are the wealth of a nation. The basic objective of development is to create an enabling environment of people to enjoy long, healthy, and creative lives. This may appear to be a simple truth. But it is often forgotten in the immediate concern with the accumulation of commodities and financial wealth.[30]

Amartya Sen speaks of enhancing the freedoms people have reason to value as the goal of development. His human development philosophy has been understood by his interpreters in a holistic fashion. For instance, Sabina Alkire writes: "By *human development*, I will mean human flourishing in its fullest sense – in matters public and private, economic and social and political and spiritual."[31] Amartya Sen himself also alludes to the same in saying that all varieties of lives and freedoms people have reason to value should be taken to consideration in the capability approach. For example, he points out, among two people fasting, one is a destitute with no choice but to fast, and the other is a religious faster who exercises her choice to undertake the fast. He writes:

> Thus, the capability approach, broadly defined, is not concerned only with checking what set of bundles of functionings one could choose from, but also with seeing the functionings themselves in a suitably rich way to reflect the relevant aspects of freedom. The constitutive plurality of the capability approach to living standard has to take note of this as well.[32]

Although the originator of the capabilities approach, Sen shied away from making it a prescriptive paradigm and so never spoke definitively of what these capabilities are (of course, tentatively and descriptively, yes). Is spiritual life a capability that people have reason to value? But Martha Nussbaum, a classicist, feminist, and a capability theorist along with Sen, does give a list of central human capabilities. One of them is 'senses,

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[30]UNDP, *Human Development Report 1990*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990, 9.

[31]Sabina Alkire, "Dimensions of Human Development," *World Development* 30, 2 (2002), 182.

[32]Amartya Sen, *The Standard of Living: The Tanner Lectures*, Geoffrey Hawthorn, ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 37-38.

imagination and thought'. Here she includes the spiritual aspect of humans as well: "... producing self-expressive works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth ... and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to search for the ultimate meaning of life in one's own way."[33] Indeed, Nussbaum's list of capabilities is in no way meant to be final; it is 'a moral conception selected for political purposes only': "... the list remains open-ended and humble; it can always be contested and remade."[34] If we go through similar ends of human life in development literature,[35] spiritual need of humans is not universally considered as a dimension people have reason to value. However, a respected cross-cultural study of what the poor value, undertaken by the World Bank, showed that most of them value a spiritual dimension of life.[36] Thus, Sabina Alkire writes:

> If development aims to expand the freedoms people value and have reason to value, and if religion is so valued, then religious freedoms should be part of development (alongside tolerance and democratic practices), as the 2004 *Human Development Report* argued.[37]

Hence, while religion expands the development vision, it is the responsibility of the political organs of development like the State to provide religious freedom in a secular spirit of tolerance. This adds an important dimension of people's freedoms and an important dimension to the development vision, which is not a narrow vision any more.

It is not only in providing a more holistic ideology to the narrow economistic idea of development that religious visions have helped. Let us now turn to a brief look at the work of FBOs.

4. Faith-Based Development Organizations

The work done in the development field by persons and organizations with allegiance to religious values and religious communities or those who directly or indirectly claim inspiration from religious ideologies or figures

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[33]Martha C. Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 79.

[34]Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development*, 77.

[35]See Alkire, "Dimensions of Human Development," 181-205.

[36]See Deepa Narayan and others, *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us?* New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank, 2004.

[37]Alkire, "Religion and Development," 503; see also UNDP, *Human Development Report 2004: Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990, 54-57.

for the work they do is playing an important role in the development of peoples across the world, especially in the world's most destitute pockets. They may be located in a village with an informal structure or may be having a more formal structure with a national or international configuration. In all religions, development work, either organized or unorganized, forms an important aspect of its social orientation. While their earliest origins might have been based on religious virtues such as charity, compassion and almsgiving, today they have come a long way and have formally and structurally grown, although based on the same fundamental spiritual ideal. For a Christian development worker, the 'fullness of life' that Christ promised might become a constant inspiration for his/her development interventions.[38] Literature on the type of work done by FBOs abound.[39] The volume of development work and fund for the same generated by FBOs is no way marginal. In the developing world, it is bringing about substantial changes. One may think of the World Vision, Islamic Relief, Catholic Relief Services, Ramakrishna Mission, Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, etc.

The type of service delivered by FBOs may be of a great variety: education, healthcare, care of the elderly, orphans and the physically and mentally challenged persons, community development, relief and disaster work, care of refugees, etc. In a tremendously pluralistic context like that of India, while FBOs may exercise their freedom according to their discretion in staff selection, administration and financial management (subject to basic checks and balances of transparency), it is debatable whether they should also be selective in service delivery. That is, if a facilitating NGO, which is faith-based, has undertaken an area (say, a village) for community development, what happens if it chooses not to invite families that do not profess its faith to be part of the programme? Should it be exclusivist? From a development ethics perspective, especially in a pluralistic context, such situations are themselves anti-

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[38]"I came that they may have life and have it abundantly." John 10:10.

[39]See Charles Leslie Glenn, *The Ambiguous Embrace: Government and Faith-Based Schools and Social Agencies*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000; Heidi Rolland Unruh and Ronald J. Sider, *Saving Souls, Serving Society: Understanding the Faith Factor in Church-Based Social Ministry*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005; Mary Lean, *Bread, Bricks, Belief: Communities in Charge of their Future*, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1995; Simon Zadek and Sue Szabo, *Valuing Organisations: The Case of Sarvodaya*, London: New Economics Foundation, 1994.

developmental and profusely fragmentary and divisive and, hence, not morally defensible. There is also a general accusation that development work of most of the FBOs is masked effort at proselytism. This provocative accusation calls for an independent and impartial study. But, as reason would suggest, the whole claim seems to be untenable. The volume of work put in by FBOs have not reaped as much proselytizing results as common sense would pass for a coherent and sustained link between the two. Schools run by religious organizations are the most fertile field for proselytizing. But do children sent to these schools change their religion inspired by their proselytizing efforts of school authorities? The link is more imagined than actual.

The greatest advantage of FBOs is the cooperation and rapport they enjoy with whom they work and the commitment they inspire and put in. Religion, however, also inspires an 'unquestioning' attitude in humans, who are otherwise questioning beings, on account of certain wonderment. This attitude can occasionally hinder development work. For example, if a development worker conscientizes people on women's empowerment, people may reject this philosophy if their respective religions hold other views. On the contrary, if FBOs themselves preach the philosophy of gender equality, there is little room for dissent and resistance. It is also seen, especially in the developing world, that development workers from religiously inspired NGOs are willing to put in services with greater commitment and comparatively lesser pay, than experts from secular and professional NGOs. Of course, this aspect needs to be studied with care. However, on the whole, one may generalize about the religiously inspired NGO personnel's zeal in development work, comparable with a missionary's proselytizing zeal. From a development ethics perspective, if an FBO's basic development philosophy is in line with current human rights and human development visions, the amount of zeal they are able to put in for development work is admirable. Below, I shall narrate the story of one such work, of which I was fortunate to be part of, albeit as an evaluator.

Phom Naga tribal community, one of the sixteen among the major Naga tribes of Nagaland, is also one of the smaller and most backward tribes – the last to give up the dreaded headhunting practice common among the gallant Naga tribes in 1952. Their traditional habitat is now a district of Nagaland – Longleng. 'Phom Community Development Project' (PCDP), funded by Kindernothilfe, Germany, through Holistic Child

Development India (HCDI),[40] a Pune-based organization, is implemented by the Phom Baptist Christian Association. As an external evaluator of the project, I visited the project villages in 2001 and 2004. The project is basically child-focused, but it aims to develop children by developing the community, which appeared to me a sensible and holistic goal. Speaking to a cross section of leaders from the community, I found a consensual opinion that PCDP is the biggest development programme that the Phom community ever had. Government's generic programmes have been scattered, wasteful, and purposeless. The project had four components: (i) *Community organization* is about educating and organizing the community for development. This component of the project mainly deals with training, awareness programmes, and get-togethers that foster community spirit, tribal celebrations, etc. (ii) Under the *education* component, several schools were built in Longleng, many of which were later taken over by the government midway through the project when they were made fully functional. (iii) *Healthcare* component also dealt with awareness programmes. Breaking the tribal resistance to family planning practices momentously, the project helped organize several vasectomy camps in Longleng. The project also trained and placed community health workers permanently in the villages. Reproductive and child health programmes are a central part of this component. (iv) As the project crossed over ten years of its tenure, the most important project component became *livelihood systems*. Better ways of hilltop cultivation, floriculture, livestock rearing, training in skills like carpentry and weaving, etc., make this component vital for the project's sustainability.

During my visits, I found the staff of HCDI, Pune, rather impatient with target achievement and the rather 'cool' attitude of the project staff and people. As an outsider having no stake in the project, I, however, marvelled at the way the Church could provide cohesiveness and vision to a people, left off by government machinery and the number politics among the tribals themselves. Change was gradually happening; capacity building had saved many young boys and girls from 'eternal' work in the ungrateful jhum fields; education was rejuvenated. Everybody, from old ill-clad tribal men and women to those looking more sophisticated in their jeans, spoke the language of development. Training terminologies came to them so naturally, as an effect of long hammering in. Their democratic practices were absolutely astounding. For a small decision to be taken about the

[40]See http://www.holisticchild.org

project, they used to meet countless times and discuss and chat, disagree and argue for long hours. Everyone, young and old, the comparatively better off and the worse off, women and men, were given chances to speak out their mind, though there still remained a hierarchy about who would speak first. It was an eye-opener for me regarding the power of FBOs and about the amount of cohesion they were able to bring to a development work. They did everything very religiously; for every meeting, a five-minute prayer and sometimes group prayer, where everyone prayed allowed very emotionally to God, was a compulsory feature.

FBOs make up with their intensity, what they seem to lack in professional expertise and neo-liberal ideologies. However, we should add here that the more prestigious among the FBOs do have very secular and liberal ideologies.[41] It is not only specifically registered development organizations that take up religiously inspired development work. The work of Ramakrishna Mission, the Catholic and Protestant Missions are diversified into other fields like education and healthcare. Hence, from a development ethics perspective, the work of FBOs is a valuable and decisive contribution to development work in general.

5. Human Rights and Religion-inspired Development Interventions

One great doubt about the involvement of religions and FBOs in development work is the conflict between religious orthodoxy and the modern international human rights movements. While human rights ethics is based on the idea of human dignity and freedom, much of religious ethical injunctions are from a different conceptual universe. Human freedom is not as much an ideal in religions as human necessity to conform to the will of God in the Abrahamic traditions and to the law of Karma in the dharmic religions. Moreover, the conflict seems to be one between modernity and its ideological schemata and the orthodoxy of religions. There has been consistent resistance to the supposedly western notion of human rights from non-western countries and religious traditions. I consider that interpreting religious morals from the perspective of their core values and granting an evolving understanding of human consciousness, we can still bridge the gap between religious values and

[41]See, for instance, the guiding principles of Catholic Relief Services: http://www.crs.org/about/guiding-principles.cfm, and the mission statement of World Vision: http://www.worldvision.org/about_us.nsf/child/history?Open&lid=history_by_decade&lpos=body.

modern understanding of human rights. This is an important bridge that needs to be made for a more effective involvement of FBOs in development work.[42]

However, such bridge-building is not a mere utopia. Several efforts of the sort have been already made in this regard. In the 1993 Parliament of the World's Religions, the "Declaration toward a Global Ethic" was singed. The language of this declaration is a modern human rights language, striving to connect the core of the world's religions with the universal core of ethics. For example, the declaration states: "Our involvement for the sake of human rights, freedom, justice, peace, and the preservation of Earth is absolutely necessary."[43] It declared that no new global order was possible without a global ethic, demanded that every human being must be treated humanely, and called for a culture of non-violence, solidarity, just economic order, tolerance, and a culture of equal rights and partnership between men and women.

Nonetheless, fundamental disagreements, for example, in the understanding of gender equity, remain and pose hurdles to religion-development work interface. The gradually dissolving disagreements regarding human rights are not the only obstacle facing this interface. In FBOs, there can be an unsaid ideology of hierarchy, authoritarianism and, of course, patriarchy, which are to be successfully resisted and thwarted for the sake of human development. With regard to the issue of hierarchy and authoritarianism, we may note that current development work thinks of itself as a method of facilitation and, hence, without participation development work cannot make any headway.[44] Very authoritarian structures have a minimal notion of participation. This can severely

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[42]Abdullahi A. An-Na'im and Others, *Human Rights and Religious Values: An Uneasy Relationship?* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995; Amartya Sen, *Morgenthau Memorial Lecture: Human Rights and Asian Values*, New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, 1997.

[43]Parliament of World's Religions, *Declaration toward a Global Ethic*, Chicago: Parliament of World's Religions, 1993, 4. http://www.parliamentof religions.org/_includes/FCKcontent/File/TowardsAGlobalEthic.pdf

[44]For the notion of 'participation', see, Denis Goulet, "Participatory Technology Assessment: Institutions and Methods," *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 45, 1 (1994), 47-61; Denis Goulet, "Global Governance, Dam Conflicts, and Participation," *Human Rights Quarterly* 27, 3 (2005), 881-907. On using rigorous monitoring tools that run the danger of objectifying the subjects of development programmes, see my essay: "Birth of the Subject: The Ethics of Monitoring Development Programmes," *Journal of Global Ethics* 4, 1 (2008), 19-36.

hamper genuine bottom-up approaches in development work. Patriarchy also needs to be successfully resisted in order to fight the feminization of poverty[45] and the injustice and violence involved in structures accommodating gender inequality. Interpretations of the ethic of development, motivated by the core ethic of religions, cannot tolerate gender inequality.

Martha Nussbaum, in her feminist analysis of religion interfering with modern development vision, points out the problem of interference in personal liberties, especially in gender matters. This can give rise to serious impediments in countries like India, where a large part of law – personal law – is monopolized by religions. There comes the real chance of an outright conflict between religious laws and human rights. Nussbaum agrees that India's concessions to religions manifest a remarkable incorporation of cultural pluralism, because in countries like the USA, religions have nothing to do with law. However, this system makes achievement of 'capability equality' difficult for people in general and women in particular. Her solution goes in line with a development ethics perspective: "to promote more public dialogue over norms of sex equality within the religious codes."[46] She speaks rightly about centring religious moral conceptions on their spiritual core rather than on the peripherals. She points out that much of the difficulties would come from a thin minority of conservative leadership who silence the liberal majority, as she concludes wittily:

> Respecting the freedom of religion does not mean giving a small number of religious leaders limitless license to perpetuate human misery, to inhibit the religious freedom of individuals, and to push the law around. It is not an assault on religious freedom but a deeper defense of its basic principles, to say that in such cases, the law indeed must 'come to the rescue' in order that 'society should move on'.[47]

Another questionable aspect of religion-inspired development work is the question of revolution and violence. Development ethics, as far as its

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[45]See Wendy Sarvasy and Judith Vanallen "Fighting the Feminization of Poverty: Socialist-Feminist Analysis and Strategy," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 16, 4 (1984), 89-110; Jeanne Vickers, *Women and the World Economic Crisis*, Women and World Development Series, London: Zed Books, 1991.

[46]Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development*, 217.

[47]Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development*, 239-40.

consensuses are concerned, looks upon development as leading to human security and peace in a world of change and violence.[48] While religions can be inspiration for peace, both inner and outer, they can be used as tools for mindless violence in the hands of their wrong interpreters. The link between religious fundamentalism and terrorism need not be elaborated here. The explanation that religious fundamentalism is not in any way 'religious' is too circuitous and is not helpful in tackling the problem. A thorough introspection in the way religion is proclaimed and handed down to generations needs to be undertaken – not politically (notwithstanding the prevalence of political crackdown on fundamentalism), but religiously and spiritually. A thoroughly privileged (the teaching that 'my religion is the only truth') and exclusivist (my allegiance is to my religionists) understanding of religion can hamper not only development work but human security everywhere. It is the duty of religious leaders to 'spiritualize' the pursuit of religion and guide it through its core values. A dynamic evolving understanding of the peripherals of religious observation is a minimum prerequisite for an authentic encounter between religion and peace.

Liberation theology, a potential source for violent revolution, has influenced Black theology, Asian theology, and Dalit theology in India. From a development ethics perspective, what is questionable is only the allusion to violent revolution. Liberation theology's kernel doctrine seems to be acceptable to that doctrine's mother church. For instance, in October 1971, the Synod of Bishops admitted that proclamation of justice is a constituent part of the preaching of the gospel.[49] In his study of potent violence and radicalism of liberation theology, Paul Sigmund discerns a marked turning away from Marxist rhetoric and concentration on grassroots movements and community building.

> In its more extravagant rhetoric, its original formulations seemed to emphasize the need for an anti-capitalistic and anti-imperialistic revolution more than the empowerment and participation of the poor. Today there is less emphasis on structuralist criticisms and more on participatory involvement.[50]

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[48]See Gasper, *The Ethics of Development*, 114-130.

[49]Peter Hebblethwaite, "Liberation Theology and the Roman Catholic Church," in *The Cambridge Companion to Liberation Theology*, ed. Christopher Rowland, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 181.

[50]Paul E. Sigmund, *Liberation Theology at the Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution?* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990, 13.

He also points out that liberation theology should recognize that there are other forms of oppression than the oppression of the 'have-nots' by the 'haves'. There are also racial, sexual, religious, and cultural oppressions.[51]

In his preface to the paperback edition of *The Cruel Choice*, Goulet discusses liberation theology, pointing out that right from Gustavo Gutiérrez, liberation theologians prefer the term 'liberation' to development. Discussing the issue in 1973, Goulet pointed out that among the three notions of development critiqued by liberation theologians,[52] the third was considered the least objectionable. While agreeing that development should lead to liberation of peoples "from nature's servitude, from economic backwardness and oppressive technological institutions, from unjust class structures and political exploiters, from cultural and psychic alienation – in short, from all of life's inhuman agencies," Goulet warns of the violence hidden within: "Intellectuals who discuss revolution and violence often utter irresponsible words which place bullets in other people's guns."[53] As liberation theology unmasks 'the alienations disguised by the development lexicon', he suggests that it should also take up the self-transformative task of making itself a moral ideology, whereby everyone – the victims and the villains – can identify with it, rather than pitting one against another. Development ethics, as championed by Goulet, does have the unmasking and self-transformative potential.

6. Conclusion

From a development ethics perspective, the religious quest of humankind does add to the broadest possible conception of development. This is its strength and, hence, the inclusiveness of this aspect in development discourses and practice may be thought as central rather than peripheral. As for the actual practice of religion-development work interface, there is much to be desired, as there is already much happening. This interface can be thought of at least at four levels. Firstly, there can be target peoples who are religiously bent, and development workers, even if they are not religiously bent, may take advantage of the religious vision and its inclusiveness in development work. Religious vision can be integrated into

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[51]Sigmund, *Liberation Theology at the Crossroads*, 12.

[52]They are (i) development as economic growth, (ii) the then UN notion of development as economic growth and social change, and (iii) the efforts of the French School to thrust development into the arena of moral debate.

[53]Goulet, *The Cruel Choice*, xx.

development work for its deeper penetration into people's mindset. Secondly, development workers and their organizations, inspired by their respective religions, may deliver development services to a people, who are also so inspired. In this case, the integration of the practice of development work and its cohesiveness may seem complete. Thirdly, religiously inspired development workers may deliver development services to those who are not so inspired or inspired by other religious visions. Here, mostly the vision remains with the workers and it charges up their motivation and methodology. Fourthly, over-enthusiastic development professionals, trained in modern secularist development methodologies, may thrust upon a deeply religious people, a completely irreligious development vision. From a development ethics perspective, while the first three levels of religiously inspired development work and vision are morally defensible, the final one that strives to de-religionize development work is not so, because it attempts to deny something that people have reason to value in pursuit of a holistic development ideal.

In experimenting with the above mentioned first three levels of religion-development work interface, caution needs to be exercised in the possibility of using force or compulsion, and in the possibility of segregating and dividing communities in the name of religion. In both these instances, the development ethics perspective may not see religiously inspired development work as morally defensible. A development ethics perspective of the religion-development interface surely would look to see religious observance, laws and injunctions interpreted from their spiritual core rather than their peripheries.

Much recent interest in the religion-development work interaction seems to centre on the evil effects of a compartmentalized, divisive approach that allows no interaction. WFDD research and writings on the link between development and religion are apparently gripped by the fear of fundamentalism and terrorism (epitomized in the eyes of the western world in the events surrounding September 11, 2001), two evil faces of religious exclusivism. While this pragmatic aim need not be frowned upon, the link between development and religion needs to be established from the perspective of a broader development vision. This would be a development ethics perspective as well.

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HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSCENDENT HUMANISM IN AMARTYA SEN

Roy Varghese Palatty♦

1. Introduction

Our world is both spectacularly rich and distressingly impoverished. As the saying goes, 'A rising tide may not lift up all the boats'. Sometimes, a quick tide, especially accompanied by a storm, dashes weaker boats to the shore, smashes them to the smithereens. In our globalized world, the market becomes the all-encompassing subject, where the poor and the marginalized face extreme injustice and objectification. In this context, the contributions of Amartya Kumar Sen, the first Indian and the first Asian to win the Nobel Prize in Economics (1998), are widely notable. The Development Index of a nation, according to him, is not simply on the Gross National Product (GDP) or per capita income alone, but it is to be judged on the basis of how a nation has progressed in sectors like life-expectancy, primary education, land-reform, the literacy of women and their wellbeing, healthcare, etc. In the history of political economy, Sen is the first to de-link famines from food availability and to frame the problem of famine and hunger as a political issue.[1] A democracy with multiparty election and critical media has better prospects to prevent or overcome disasters like famines simply because democratic mechanisms, which Sen considers the model form of governance, offer the space for public outcry, empowering the public to criticize and demand immediate action from the government.

Sen explains human development in terms of expanding one's freedom through capabilities and entitlements. Capabilities represent

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[1]For Sen's empirical study on famines, see Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984.

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various "combinations of functions"[2] (beings and doings) that a person can achieve. Capability is a set of vectors of functionings, reflecting a person's freedom to lead one type of life or another. Entitlement is understood as the ability to command over something.[3] The expansion of freedom is viewed as both the primary end and the principal means of development. He defines the constitutive role of freedom as "the substantive freedoms including elementary capabilities like being able to avoid such deprivations as starvation, undernourishment, escapable morbidity and premature mortality, as well as the freedoms that are associated with being literate and numerate, enjoying political participation and uncensored speech and so on."[4] In addition to it, he speaks of instrumental role of freedom, which includes political freedoms, economic freedom, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security. In this article, I analyze Sen's substantive freedom-based approach as to what extent it has helped to empower the society at large, which is constantly under repression through unjust structures and social exclusion.

2. Individual Freedom vis-à-vis Social Commitment

Individual freedom and its expansion are at the centre of Sen's developmental framework. Although Sen points out that, individuals are "quintessentially social creatures,"[5] his scheme of freedom is towards the individual. Even if social arrangements or institutions are seen as important elements in enhancing or impeding individual freedoms, they are still to be "investigated in terms of their contribution to enhancing and guaranteeing the substantive freedoms of individuals."[6] Individuals are seen as active agents of change, rather than as passive recipients of dispensed benefits. Freedom is explained primary as a capacity for buying and selling although one person has to live in a society without "social shame" or "social exclusion."[7] It's purely external, and has nothing to do

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[2]Amartya Sen, *Commodities and Capabilities*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987, 14.

[3]Sen, *Poverty and Famines*, 45.

[4]Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999, 36. The title of the work, *Development as Freedom*, itself is symbolic of his liberal stand and outlook. Things would be quite different, had he taken an approach of Development as *Justice*!

[5]Jean Drez and Amartya Sen, *India: Development and Participation*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002, 81.

[6]Sen, *Development as Freedom*, xiii.

[7]Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 89.

with internal realization. The liberty of man is reduced to a struggle for owning the toys of unfulfilled desires endlessly created by the market.[8] The 'freedom' that market gives is an imposed freedom and imposed life styles. The 'capability set' is combinations of functionings that are feasible for him or her to achieve.[9] The evaluative focus of the 'capability approach' is based on either realized functionings or the capability set of alternatives he or she has. Sen explains the capability and its evaluation primarily on an individual basis. Thus, what a person is actually able to do and what are his or her opportunities are given more importance than the discussion of common good. The importance in the evaluative judgments is given to the individual wellbeing and his or her quality of life. Thus, individual preferences become the basis of social choice.[10]

Sen warns and suggests that freedoms in markets should go hand in hand with freedoms in other institutions, like political establishments, so that extensive freedoms of some in markets do not override the freedoms of others in participating in the life of the community. He is a bit reluctant to approach development with a supra-individual subject. In this way, by following the Smithian approach, Sen's method is also in the line of 'ethical egoism'.[11] When self-interests become the motivating force, Smith notes, there would be "an invisible hand to promote the end which was not part of his intention."[12] In spite of such a position, Sen speaks of "providing social safety nets (in the form of social security and other

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[8]The market-oriented individual freedom could be explained with an example. The individual freedom, according to the market forces, is evidenced in the 'Nano revolution' or, as some others calls it, a 'second revolution' to improve the quality of life. The car is now a fetish of development and high status. The market brainwashes the slave that freedom means aping the master's lifestyle. People no more seem to like to travel in company of others, for the other is a matter of disturbance and unfreedom. Even a family does not travel together; each person must possess a car – a solipsistic madness. Market continues to preach, 'blessed are the poor, for they can buy a car!' It's not freedom.

[9]Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 75.

[10]Sen, *Rationality and Freedom*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002. 300-310.

[11]Sen states that Smith's self-interest view of rationality involves *inter alia* a firm rejection of the ethics-related view of motivation and, so, Sen concluded that Smithian theory is "ethical egoism." *On Ethics and Economics*, 15.

[12]Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, 453.

supportive arrangements)"[13] for those whose interests are harmed through the globalizing processes. For, according to him, there is a close linkage between freedom and responsibility. The starting point of responsibility is also freedom for him. When he speaks of freedom as a pre-requisite for responsibility, Sen focuses on the primacy of individual advantage for social achievements.[14] But, freedom-oriented approach many a time lacks sensitivity towards society and societal needs. Likewise, individual freedom does not necessarily lead to social commitment.

Freedom cannot be merely seen as a capability to enter into market operations or trade-play; it is the openness of the consciousness and awareness about oneself and the other. When the whole discussion of individual becomes dominant, the societal freedom is marginalized and, thus, responsibility towards the other is all the more neglected. So, development is to be explained in terms of responsibility: *development as responsibility*.

As a social being and being-with-others, an individual has no existence apart from his or her community. The rootedness of the individual can never be underestimated. When the individual preferences and desires become dominant in a community, there cannot have any empowerment of the common good. Sen criticizes the 'fetishist handicap' to be concerned with goods as such, to the exclusion of what goods "*do* to human beings."[15] Accordingly, the goodness of life essentially depends on its being chosen and constructed by the person who lives it.

New market transaction and competitive markets, as Sen rightly puts it, increase the opportunities and choices of the individual. It may not, however, ensure the strength of the society. The concept of 'other-ness' is lacking in the individualistic formulation of freedom. Freedom is needed to have its fulfilment in a society. When the conception of human being is restricted into an economic model alone – *homo economicus* – it tends to be that of a self-seeking egoist.[16]

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[13]Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 240.

[14]Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 284.

[15]Sen, "Equality of What?" 1 July 2007, http://www.tannerlectures.utah.ed/lectures/sen80.pdf, 218 [Online].

[16]Man, being *Mit-dasein*, has no other option, but to take into account the fact of being-with-others. In the process of living together there is the possibility of approaching the other with two attitudes: an attitude of acceptance or rejection. In the attitude of acceptance, the other is not seen as a menacing threat, or as a means for me to grow but as a person, a co-existent thou, a presence. Hence, the other becomes

Hence, Sen speaks of the role of public action in eliminating hunger and poverty in the modern world. The incentives provided by the market mechanism could be shared through governments. Thus, he emphasizes the role of democratic institutions. A civilized society is a society that can maintain and observe the rights of the individuals without destroying the freedom of society and the common good. As Kant rightly says, if any society is to be a civilized one, there must be a just constitution, allowing "the greatest freedom" for each along "the most precise specification and preservation of the limits of this freedom so that it can coexist with the freedom of others,"[17] making room for mutual growth and development. Gandhi, when he explains about the freedom of individuals says: "Civilization, in the real sense of the term, consists not in the multiplication, but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment, and increases the capacity for service."[18] Unfair developmental approaches are forms of violence and danger to the humanity as a whole.

3. Global Institutions and Democratic Restrictions

The most important global institutions that are active today are the IMF and the World Bank. Both have originated after World War II as a result of the UN Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, as part of a concerted effort to finance the rebuilding of Europe after the devastation of war and to save the world from future economic depressions. The IMF was founded on the belief that there was a need for collective action at the global level for economic stability, just as the United Nations had been founded on the belief that there was a need for collective action at the global level for political stability.[19] Founded on the belief that markets often worked badly, the IMF now champions market supremacy with ideological fervour. Functioning on the belief that there is a need for

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one of value, and not at all one of hell, but of 'hello'. Human beings cannot live as a "windowless monad," with no possibility of interaction with the other. Sen, no doubt, goes beyond the level of *homo-economicus* and moves to *homo socio-economicus*, although his starting point remains with the individual.

[17]Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith, London: Macmillan, 1929, A361/B373.

[18]Raghavan Iyer, *The Essential Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993, 399.

[19]Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2000, 11-12.

international pressure on countries to have more expansionary economic policies – such as increasing expenditures, reducing taxes, or lowering interest rates to stimulate the economy – the IMF typically provides funds only if countries engage in policies like cutting deficits, raising taxes, or raising interest rates that lead to a contraction of the economy.[20] Slowly, the IMF has adopted an imperialistic trend. The Keynesian orientation of the IMF, which emphasized market failures and the role of government in job creation, was replaced by the free market mantra of the 1980s, part of a new 'Washington Consensus' – a consensus among the IMF, the World Bank, and the US Treasury about the 'right' policies for developing countries – that signalled a radically different approach to economic development and stabilization. Both these institutions promote and pursue rapid progress through privatization.

The inevitable role of the government is emphatically stated in the reform proposals of Sen. He argues: "individuals live and operate in a world of institutions, many of which operate across borders. Our opportunities and prospects depend crucially on what institutions exist and how they function."[21] The global institutions and the democratic set up need to work in a positive correlation for the development of the people. Sen remarks that "the intrinsic relevance, the protective role and the constructive importance of democracy can indeed be very extensive."[22] By taking the example of India, the largest democracy in the world, he adds:

> The performance of democratic institutions is contingent on a wide range of social conditions, from educational levels and political traditions to the nature of social inequalities and popular organizations. In many cases democratic practices in India have been deeply compromised by a variety of social limitations inherited from the past.[23]

Among the various social limitations, Sen points out the handicap of present voting system, problems in the legal system, corruption and so

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[20]Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, 13.

[21]Sen, "Freedom as Progress," *Finance and Development*, September 2004, 4-5.

[22]Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 154. Sen's exploration is basically a search for the 'third way', where free-market and government regulations, freedom and justice, global institutions and nation-states move together. Although his attempt is theoretically bankable, it is practically bankrupt.

[23]Drez and Sen, *India: Development and Participation*, 350.

on.[24] The present practice of democracy has terribly turned out to be *democrazy*. The widely known handicap of democracy is due to the hyper globalization and its market ideology promoted by global institutions. This has not been mentioned in the discussion of democratic failures. What matters, of course, is not just the size of government but what government does.

Democracy and nation-states can work only when they have the power in most respects. But in reality, corporations and private agencies assuming control over the people, government becomes a mere sheep-dog. That is why we have lost functional democracy, but a "sugar-coated progeny of the capitalist market,"[25] which could easily be manipulated by the self-interests of a minority. When some trans-territorial organizations so tightly steer and control the economic, cultural, social, and political life of nation-states, then the governments have no feasible way of developing and sustaining policy-options or programmes. Nation-states become rather march lock-up to the mandates of these trans-national organizations over most fundamental economic, political, social, and cultural matters. As Scholte remarks,

> Democracy is understood to prevail when the members of a polity determine – collectively, equally and without arbitrarily imposed constraints – the policies that shape their destinies. In democratic governance, people reach joint decisions using processes that are open to all and free of peremptory exercises of top-down power. In one way or another, democratic governance is participatory, consultative, transparent, and publicly accountable.[26]

As Kierkegaard put it ironically, "there are no Christians in the Christian Kingdom of Denmark," it would not be cynic but just if someone said that,

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[24]Indian elections are formally 'free and fair' in most cases; their effective fairness has been compromised by nepotism, the criminalization of politics, and pervasive inequalities in electoral opportunities as a result of disparities in economic wealth and social privileges. For details see, Drez and Sen, *India: Development and Participation*, 348-356.

[25]Saju Chackalackal, "Terrorism and Global Responsibility: An Alternative Reading in the Context of Globalization" (Editorial), *Journal of Dharma* 32, 1, (January-March 2007), 6.

[26]Jan Aart Scholte, *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, New York: Saint Martins, 2000, 262. China follows state-sponsored capitalism and India follows democratic form of capitalism.

given Scholte's definition, there are no democracies in our family of contemporary constitutional democratic regimes.

It is true that the present-day globalization is not benefiting the downtrodden and the underprivileged groups. Against Sen's vision of globalization, basically a neo-liberalist position of globalization from above, what we need is a democratic globalization, i.e., a globalization from below. Democracy should not be threatened by such a globalization. Unfortunately, what we experience today is, as Paul Bairoch called, the "rule by the market" with economics, not politics, in command.[27] Noam Chomsky has called the present world a "rule by the giant multinationals,"[28] where the world becomes a huge bazaar with nations peddling their workforce in competition against each other, offering the lowest prices for doing business. It is not less than what could be called an emergence of international capitalist class, which can bypass the policies, laws and regulations of nation-states and place irresistible pressures to lower wages, labour standards, and social and environmental regulations across the globe.

4. Poverty and Violence against Global Justice

Dazzling prosperity cohabiting with dehumanizing poverty is the tragedy of contemporary India and many other developing countries. One India wants; the Other India hopes. One India leads; the Other India follows. Poverty is lack of choice – no choice, but starvation. Massive inequalities in the opportunities experienced by different people encourage scepticism about the ability of globalization to serve the interests of the majority. Fair treatment is generally neglected in the market transactions. The paradox is: economic growth has been achieved by sustaining poverty and material deprivation for a massive majority of the people who live in sub-human dehumanizing conditions without a future. India, for example, represents a dichotomy in development. The number of millionaires and billionaires in India is increasing every year at a higher percentage. According to one study, the number of billionaires has increased from 178 in 2003-2004 to

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[27]Paul Bairoch, *Economics and World History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993, 13.

[28]Noam Chomsky, "Free Trade and Free Market: Pretence and Practice," *The Cultures of Globalization*, eds. Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, Drham, DC: Duke University Press, 1998, 357.

311 in 2004-2005.[29] India took about fifty-five years (after independence) to produce 178 billionaires, but she added 133 in a single year! The developmental programmes and networks, however, do not reach the least and the last Indian.

Poverty of our development has its method of new barbarism, where the contradictions and conflicts are further exacerbated by the inevitable technological divides in our high-tech digital age, leaving the weak even more defenceless and desperate than ever before. Institutional re-ordering and the empowerment of the poor are essential to make globalization work. The expansion of freedom is a nightmare in the presence of distressing poverty. The liberals could see in Sen's contribution the idea of freedom beyond its traditional individualistic interpretation and move to the inclusion of social agenda, but it is a cry far from the actual demand of justice. His "freedom-oriented commitment to development"[30] needs to be transformed by justice-oriented commitment to development. Sen, however, states that "the continued inequalities in the global economy are closely related to various institutional failures that have to be overcome. In addition to the momentous *omissions* that need to be rectified, there are also serious problems of *commission* that must be addressed for elementary global justice."[31] Poverty can be wiped out from the earth if the winners could share with losers in the market transactions. What I mean is giving due justice to each one in the market transaction without omissions and commissions. Market should neither be used as an institution to exploit the poor people nor as a medium to building up empires.

Humanity is a network of relationships based on love and peace. Peace is not a matter of chance or fate. There is a close relation between poverty and violence. Economics cannot withstand by itself distanced from other social sciences. The prevalent reductionist trend in classical science and culture did not spare economics either. Today, economics continues to be as fragmentary and reductionist as any other social science. The basic error of the social sciences is to divide each fabric in social life into fragments, assumed to be independent and to deal with them in separate academic departments. Due to the fragmentation of social fabric, political

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[29]John M. Itty, "Socialism in the Age of Globalization," *Integral Liberation* 7 (September 2006), 90.

[30]Drez and Sen, *India: Development and Participation*, 5.

[31]Sen, *Identity and Violence*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2006, 139; emphasis in the original.

scientists neglect basic economic forces, resulting in a failure of economists to see the socio-political consequences of their economic models, which further leads to a dangerous split between social and economic policies. As Schumacher says, "a reckless science and violent technology"[32] cannot ensure peace. The involvement of the world powers in the globalized trade in arms is a typical example of promoting violence. Injustice in the economic and political fields and turbulent growth bring forth conflicts and fighting between nations and individuals. As Gandhi rightly said, "present-day capitalists are responsible for widespread and unjust wars. Most of the wars of our times spring from greed for money."[33] When peoples experience injustice and have no peaceful way of righting the wrong, then they take to violence. Injurious commissions, says Sen, include severely restrictive trade barriers that curb exports from poorer countries.[34] The global capitalism is more concerned with markets than any other institutions of the society. Sen is very much concerned about the problem of inequity and its close relationship with contemporary conflicts. The growing economic inequality will increasingly trigger conflicts in the name of religion, language and ethnicity. Unbridled development without value underpinnings will only lead human beings toward total annihilation. The staggering inequality maintained at the international level and the unfair sharing of resources is getting marginally larger.[35] Destitution and neglect can produce provocation for defying established laws and rules, feeling of resentment and humiliation, and a sense of encroachment and degradation. This may lead to mobilization of the mass of the 'have-nots' to rebel and revolt against the 'haves'. Sen says: "even though poverty and sense of global injustice may not lead immediately to an eruption of

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[32]E. F. Schumacher, *Small Is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered*, 10th edition, London: Blond and Briggs, 1980, 143.

[33]Mahatma Gandhi, *The Collected Works*, vol. 8, New Delhi: Government of India, 1968, 371.

[34]Sen, *Identity and Violence*, 139-140. Sen speaks of inequitable patent laws which can serve as counterproductive hurdles for the use of lifesaving drugs – needed for diseases like AIDS – which can often be produced very cheaply, but the market prices of which are pushed high by the burden of royalties. Peace is enjoyed when there is mutual respect and harmonious understanding among individuals and nations. The unwritten style of global capitalists is, however, just the opposite.

[35]Sen, *Identity and Violence*, 134. Speaking of development as the new name for peace, Pope Paul VI reminded that "excessive economic, social, and cultural inequalities ... are danger to peace." *Populorum Progressio*, Bombay: Pauline Publications, 1967, §76.

violence, there are certainly connections there, operating over a long period of time that can have a significant effect on the possibility of violence."[36] The phenomenon of injustice should be replaced with distributive justice and fair operation in relations. Economic destitution may not lead to any immediate violence, but it would be wrong to presume from this that there is no connection between the two.[37]

Sen, who is sensitive to the cause of justice and equity for the attainment of freedom, has strongly advocated the increasing capabilities, entitlements, and social opportunities. He proposes, however, a solution for justice in and through the liberalization of economy and integration with the world market. Sen does not realize that the process of present globalization and liberalization policies are not just and working contrary to the principles of equality and justice. This never helps him to bring about the demands of global justice and peace. Sen's sensibility towards the ground realities and consequent problems still has a neo-liberal outlook. Gandhi, who was a steady crusader against the disorganized socio-economic inequalities and injustices, notes:

> Economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth, on the one hand, and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other... A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility, so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists... A violent and bloody revolution is

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[36]Sen, *Identity and Violence*, 145. Sen, in this context, says that the neglect of the plight of Africa today could have a long-run effect on the world peace in future. What the rest of the world, especially rich countries did – or did not do – when at least a quarter of the African population was threatened with extinction through epidemics!

[37]The memory of ill treatment of the Middle East by the western powers for many decades – perhaps even a hundred years – which still hangs around in various forms in West Asia, can be cultivated and magnified by the commanders of confrontation to enhance the ability of terrorists to recruit volunteers for violence. Reinstated justice brings healing, not only the healing of the present, but of the wounded history too. Global injustice always accelerates violence and terrorist activities. Neglect can be reason enough for resentment, but a sense of encroachment, degradation, and humiliation could be easy tools to mobilize rebellion and revolt. For details see, Sen, *Identity and Violence*, 140-147.

> certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches give and sharing them for the common good.[38]

The poor South fails in the competitive markets and free-trade plays. Continuous failing in the trade-play evokes violence, whereas empowerment, say, for example, through "micro credit"[39] and justice brings peace.

5. Need for a Paradigm Shift: Alternatives

The modern world is in need of unlearning the Nietzschean thesis, "this world is the will to power – and nothing besides! And you yourselves are also this will to power – and nothing besides."[40] Today, this "will to power" is manifested in the form of global institutions, which are controlling not only the markets, but regulate the very freedom of the people and of the nations through their self-aggrandisement market policies and practices. When a religion of consumerism that preaches the gospel of free market violently grows by establishing the ideology of market, openly and optimistically looking for alternatives is vital.

5.1. *Oiko-nomics* (Economy) to *oiko-logics* (Ecology)

The word economics is derived from two Greek roots *oikos* and *nomics* which, respectively, mean "household" and "management or measure."[41] It

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[38]M. K. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*, Ahamedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1981, 20-21.

[39]Jayati Ghosh, "Development as Nobel Cause," *Frontline*, 3 November 2006, 94. I am reminded, incidentally, of the Nobel Peace Prize for 2006 which was awarded to a well-known economist Muhammad Yunus, for recognizing his innovative work on 'micro credit' model of finance for the poor through Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. It shows, at least indirectly, the Nobel Committee's acknowledgement that peace is not possible without alleviating poverty. What is worth-noting is that Yunus received Nobel Prize not for economics, but for peace. When justice in the area of economic freedom is denied, the scope for a peaceful society becomes jeopardized. The true wellbeing is not merely freedom, but justice and peace – *pax opus iustitiae* – peace is the work of justice. Yunus may not be the pioneer of micro credit, but he is the first one to make this a viable model capable of being copied and scaled up. Against the formal system of banking, where the poor are not 'bankable', Yunus' system concentrates mainly on the poor and village women.

[40]F. Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, ed. W. Kaufmann, New York: Vintage Books, 1968, 550.

[41]John F. Babson, "Ecology vs. Economics" 10 January 2008, www.polyu.edu.hk/~gec/student_area/publication/bulletin_Oct2000/bulletin2a.pdf [Online].

is often referred to as "management of the (man's/woman's) household." It is inherently human-centred. In a similar way, the word ecology is also derived from two Greek roots *oikos* and *logics* which, respectively, mean "household" and "logic or science or study."[42] Generally, it is used as a "study of (nature's household)."[43] Classical economists mainly discussed the "management of the household," where they failed to include the "nature's household." Subsistence economies, which prevail in more remote and less industrialized areas of the world, place much value on ecology and living in harmony within the natural limits of their environment. Development is not necessary in terms of mere industrialization and technological revolutions, but it could be in tune with the nature and the consequent natural and organic forms. Unlike capitalist economies and socialist economies, the Buddhist economic system, for example, is centred on the goal of human fulfilment and the development of character.[44] Smithian understanding has much to do with the contemporary global issues. Smith believed that human beings were by nature interested primarily in their own gain and hypothesized that the common good could be attained if everyone sought what was best for him/her individually. But, when individual freedom and its expansion is given undue emphasis – leading to extreme exploitation of nature and the domination of industrial man – the management of the household contradicts with the nature's household. Scientific materialism denies the reality of human life, its purpose, and the external world as it is. It is

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[42]Babson, "Ecology vs. Economics" [Online].

[43]The word 'ecology' was coined in the 1860's by a German biologist Ernst Haeckel who introduced the ideas of Charles Darwin to the German public. Babson, "Ecology vs. Economics" [Online].

[44]Capitalist economies emphasize individual freedom while socialist economies emphasize social equity. E. F. Schumacher explained Buddhist economic system as more comfortable and human-centred. For details, see *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered*. In the chapter on "Buddhist Economics," he describes an economic system that is concerned primarily with an individual's right and ability to live a full and meaningful life. He makes a distinction between mechanization that enhances a person's skill and power and that which degrades a person to be a slave of the machine and perform dull and repetitious movements. He says the goal of a Buddhist economy is to maximize wellbeing with a *minimum* of consumption. Simplicity and non-violence are the main goals of the economy.

merely utilization of the other – humanity and nature – without any specific goal.[45]

Market fundamentalism of the present-day economics leads us to machination and destroys the authenticity of human person in the transactions. It has been said in economics that the market makes a good servant, a bad master, and a horrible religion! What we need is nature-minded economics, where the management of the household (*oiko*/nomics) and the nature's household (*oiko*-logics) would never contradict.

5.2. Chrematistics to Oikonomia[46]

Chrematistics is a word popular in the contemporary world as a branch of political economics. It relates to the manipulation of property and wealth so as to maximize short-term monetary exchange value to the owner. Here, self-interest is the motivating factor in every human action and, thus, attainment of short-term merit at the cost of long-lasting outcomes is planned. *Oikonomia* is the root from which the word economics is derived. It is "the management of the household so as to increase its use value to all members of the household over the long run."[47] Thus, economics is not mere chrematistics but a wide range of household and community, which includes land, resources, institutions, language, history, religion, spirituality and so on. The modern economic trend, however, becomes an academic discipline that is much closer to chrematistics, which follows the deductive method for its abstraction and not *oikonomia*; ours is a world of chrematistics. Daly and Cobb distinguish *oikonomia* from chrematistics in three different ways:

> First, it takes the long-run rather than the short-run view. Second, it considers costs and benefits to the whole community, not just to the parties to the transaction. Third, it focuses on concrete use value and

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[45]It is what Whitehead called the fallacy of "misplaced concreteness. See *Science and the Modern World*, New York: Macmillan, 1925, 200. See also Herman E. Daly and John B. Cobb, *For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1994, 35-43. According to Heidegger, the present world view is one of 'machination' over against what is handed down to us, for the sake of overcoming and subduing it. Heidegger, *Contributions to Philosophy* (*From Enowning*), 27, cited in R. Brad Bannon, *The Quest for Postmodern Ethics*, Bangalore: Dharmaram Publications, 2007, 219.

[46]For this title I owe to Daly and Cobb, who deal with the subject in an elaborate manner in their popular work *For the Common Good*.

[47]Daly and Cobb, *For the Common Good*, 138.

the limited accumulation thereof, rather than on abstract exchange value and its impetus toward unlimited accumulation.[48]

Modern market-driven economic activities are not different from the dynamics of chrematistics because, a short-term benefit is the main concern here. What a share-holder gets out of his or her transaction, what an entrepreneur gains every year as profit, and what a free-trader receives out of his trade-play constitute modern chrematistics. When Sen argues for development even at the cost of agricultural or other traditional works, it falls into the same realm of chrematistics and, thus, looks into the short-term advantage and mere exchange value. In the same way, when the cultural problems keep distanced from the economic predicament, the same problem of reducing the *oikonomia* to the realm of chrematistics is taking place.

5. 3. Towards a Self-Reliance Paradigm

The most fundamental notion of today's techno-global theory is that no country aspiring to a reasonable growth rate or living standard can any longer be self-reliant. The world is presumed to be interlinked and dependent upon globalized technologies so much so that self-reliance must supposedly be displaced by a comparatively advantage-based, export-driven, and market-funded development. As important institutions of the society, market and global transactions are inevitable for the expansion of freedom, according to many contemporary economist-thinkers. For them, market is not an option, but a necessity. They consider market's driving force as the essential element in development and progress. International trade, despite the name, is not trade among nations, but trade among individuals who conduct business beyond national boundaries. The individual, not the nation, is the decision-making unit. The extreme situation of the present trade could be understood in terms of the following dictum: "he trades freely, but he or she is no longer free not to trade." This should be deconstructed in order to establish each national community by its own power to act for the community. Self-reliance is the autonomy necessary for self-respect, non-exploitation and moral development. Dunkley defines self-reliance as "the degree of political, economic, cultural or other autonomy required for adequate national sovereignty in seeking to achieve a society's aspirations, especially with regard to social

[48]Daly and Cobb, *For the Common Good*, 139. The prevalent culture of fast-food may be a typical example of short-term benefits.

justice, environmental sustainability and cultural integrity, for all people and groups both domestically and internationally."[49] Sen's notion of capacity expansion is important but not enough. Self-reliance is not dogmatic adherence to national boundaries but should include multicultural tolerance of pre-existing sub-national groups. The Buddhist principle of "priority to locals," i.e., serving local needs from local resources, should take precedence over, but not preclude, more distant relationships.[50] Local development is the principle where the development centres on regions, communities or localities, and more national self-reliant units. Although a country may go to international market for certain products, it is a fact that many of the products need to be sold and bought in the local markets.

5.4. Freedom to Justice

Freedom, for Sen, is not only the ultimate end of development; it is also the crucial and effective means. According to him, by giving more opportunities and choices, freedom could be widened. Freedom without justice, however, creates disorder and chaos. Although globalization announces maximum freedom to the individual, it gives less importance to justice. Sen notes:

> It is necessary to re-examine the balance of power in the running of the different institutions that make up the global architecture. The present institutional architecture was largely set up in the middle 1940s, on the basis of the understanding of the needs of the world economy as interpreted in the Bretton Wood Conference held just as the Second World War was coming to an end. That framework did help to foster trade and development, but not much distributional equity – either in economic or in the political sphere.[51]

Acceptance of the dangers of capital market liberalization and the short-term capital flows (hot money) imposes huge externalities, where costs are borne by those not directly party to the transaction. In the same way, most developing countries have weak safety nets, including lack of unemployment insurance programmes. Even in more developed countries, safety nets are weak and inadequate in the two sectors that predominate in developing countries as well, i.e., agriculture and small businesses. So,

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[49]Graham Dunkley, *Free Trade*, Bangalore: Books for Change, 2004, 164-165.

[50]Schumacher, *Small is Beautiful*, 49.

[51]Sen, "What Difference Can Ethics Make?" 20 November 2007, www.iadorg/etica/ingles/index-i.htm [Online].

international assistance will be essential if the developing countries are to make substantial strides in improving their safety nets.[52]

Proper governance and due justice are possible only in the context of a functional democracy. It can help and protect the poor from the powerful and the exploiters. Man/woman is by nature a political animal and he or she cannot have freedom apart from the society. Freedom-centred 'free-trade' is ultimately a game without rules and regulations. Many a time, the hook and crook of wealthy and developed nations dominate in the freedom approach. Although it theoretically endorses freedom, it does not seem to 'walk the talk' and, thus, justice of the poor and the marginalized is terribly denied or neglected. Free trade is the weapon of the strong and protectionism is the shield of the weak!

Here, it is worthy to note Derrida's radical stand for justice. Against Fukuyama's book, *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992), which extols the global spread of liberal democracy in conjunction with the free market as the remedy to enhance wealth of the nations, Derrida responds that this announcement of 'good news' is fraudulent because it is not at all concerned about those who fall out of the boat.[53] In this "world-wide economic and social field," Derrida insists that the basic rights of men/women and children are to be respected. He associates 'democracy' as it should be with unconditional respect for, and hospitality to the neighbour, the other, the stranger, and this is on a universal scale, without the exclusion of anybody, any race or ethnicity. It is a new Cosmopolitanism and radical hospitality. Borradori notes:

> [Derrida's] plea for an 'impossible' hospitality clashes, to be sure, with the objectives of a purely economic globalization, which promises a greater interconnectedness among people, but in fact only benefits the powers that be. But precisely for this reason, his idea of an 'impossible' hospitality holds out the perspective of a 'globalization from below' – one in which the 'stranger' is welcomed

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[52]Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, 239.

[53]Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, trans. Peggy Kamuf, New York: Routledge, 1994, 64. Derrida is referring to globalization, though he does not use the term globalization, which was not yet a common currency when he wrote on this subject.

without reserve, irrespective of his or her nationality, gender, race or religion.[54]

Justice to the dalits, tribals, and the other 'voiceless' people has to be urgently given instead of multiplying the opportunities and choices exclusively for the so-called upper class people in the society. For the real freedom and emancipation of the downtrodden, they must be given justice first. That is what Derrida calls forth in terms of the notion of "messianicity."[55] If globalization is the corporate agenda for a total corporate control, justice ensures the protection of environment, people's survival and livelihood. To create a new form of society, interdependence should give rise to new and broader expressions of solidarity which respect the equal dignity of all peoples, rather than leading to domination by the strongest, to national egoism, to inequalities and injustices. Our developmental programme, thus, guarantees distributive justice, a sort of social cybernetics in which the last man in the last row is the first and foremost beneficiary of development.

5.5. Individualism to Person-in-Community

By following the 'self-interest' theory of Adam Smith, which for many others became normative, individualism of human behaviour is dominant in the dealings of every individual in society. There is no place for fairness, benevolence, love and concern of life of the other and the neighbour. Even when some help is done, for Smith, it is a public virtue that could be easily identified as private vice. Where sympathy or benevolence is not reliably operative, only self-love can function as a motive. Following Smith, Sen also considers individual's capabilities and entitlements as extremely important, leading to an absence of focus on person-in-community. The classical *Homo economicus* is "a radical

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[54]Giovanna Borradori, *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Dialogues with Jurgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003, 129. In his literary style, Derrida often speaks of an 'impossible' justice; he also speaks of an 'impossible' gift, an 'impossible' hospitality, 'an impossible' altruism, whereby the qualification 'impossible' points to something 'excessive' that rips apart the ordinary.

[55]Here Derrida offers a reinterpretation to the biblical notion of messianism as messianicity, "an impossible justice to come." It is a radical hospitality, as in the case of the Good Samaritan in the Bible. Messianicity is no more a religious phenomenon as such, but refers to an unconditional hospitality towards the other. Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes, New York: Routledge, 1997, 13-14.

abstraction from social reality."[56] Here, an individual is identified as a consumer, a worker, and a participator in the market. It is really a dehumanizing act of reducing human beings to mere objects of transactions as in the old barter system and as an instrument to be utilized in the modern economic practices. We are part of a community. A self-contained person is merely a wild imagination; such a person does not exist in the real world. *Homo economicus*, as a self-contained atom of methodological individualism and as the pure social being of collectivist theory, is resulting from baseless abstractions. We are individual persons, but our very individual identity is defined by the quality of our social relations. The things and elements in the cosmos are interrelated and interconnected. Stiglitz holds that "markets, governments, and individuals are three of the pillars of a successful development strategy. A fourth pillar is communities, people working together, often with help from government and nongovernmental organizations. In many developing countries, much collective action is at the local level."[57] Developmental thinkers consistently and systematically destroy existing traditional communities, especially in the rural areas where most people in the developing world continue to live. In brief, we believe that it is a folly to sacrifice existing institutions of community at the national level in the supposed service of nonexistent institutions of community at the world level. Better to build and strengthen the weakening bonds of national community first, and then expand such communities by federation into larger trading blocks among national communities.

6. Conclusion

Human freedom is not simply freedom 'from' something but freedom 'towards' something as well. Freedom, however, is to be explained in terms of responsibility in the social context. This responsibility "is neither sentimentalism nor the naïve romanticism of being moved by the miserable and marginalized poor. Its affectiveness must turn into effectiveness, its dedication to the other into 'works' of care for others."[58] In the corporate circle, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is a popular

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[56]Daly and Cobb, *For the Common Good*, 161.

[57]Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2006, 51.

[58]Levinas, *Difficult Freedom: Essays on Judaism*, 93, cited in Roger Burggraeve, "The Voice of Marginal and the Poor," *Jnanadeepa* 10, 1 (January 2007), 94.

expression with varied motives. Even big corporations are convinced of the fact that if they do not observe their responsibility to the society, in the long run it will affect the destiny of the firm itself. At times, they do publicity also by involving in certain philanthropic actions towards the society. The repressed 'other' has not been given much importance within modernity. The face of the other should be the source of responsibility. At the same time, in the words of Levinas, "the poor, the widow, the orphan and the stranger"[59] call for a radical alterity. The 'mathematical' and 'calculative thinking' prevalent in the developmental discourse should be transformed into 'meditative' and 'commiserative' thinking so that development becomes not only holistic and integral, but also empowers the poor, downtrodden and the weak. Mathematical thinking, devoid of all passions for real development and uplift of the whole humanity, works to reduce the world to a mere mathematical formalism, "whose medium is number, the most abstract form of the immediate," and it "holds thinking firmly to mere immediacy."[60] In other words, any sort of 'instrumental rationality' or 'instrumental reduction' is against the value of human dignity. The marginalized and the poor are no longer reduced to 'target groups' and 'objects', meaning to say, 'beneficiaries of development', but are transformed into 'subjects' and agents of their own development.

Gandhi identifies seven ills that afflict the modern-day civilization. They are, "politics without principles, science without humanity, commerce without morality, wealth without work, worship without sacrifice, pleasure without conscience, and knowledge without character."[61] Today, man/woman is languishing in the midst of affluence without enjoying the warmth of multiple human bonds and the intimacy and reciprocal recognition and response of a community living. This demands "a new and transcendent humanism"[62] where we value man above materials, need above greed, ecology above economics, ethics above affluence, community-interest above self-interest and so on.

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[59]Levinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, 28, cited in Burggraeve, "The Voice of the Marginal and the Poor," 95.

[60]Gnana Patrick, "Development as Quasi-Religious: A Critical Appraisal," *Janadeepa* 10, 1 (January 2007), 128.

[61]Gandhi, *The Collected Works*, 8:362.

[62]Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, Bombay: Pauline Publications, 1967, §16.

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DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE BY RELIGIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

An Overview of Development Scenario in Keralam

J. Prasant Palakkappillil♦

1. Introduction

Religion, economics, and development: do the three terms relate? Definitely, the last two are often discussed as inseparably linked. With the former, however, the initial response could be that of an unholy alliance between 'God and Mammon'.[1] Usually, religion spoke about and presented a world beyond the realm of matter and economics. There had, of course, been people like Kumarappa, who spoke of an 'Economics of Permanence' in a very religious or spiritual sense, without losing the reality of economics. However, coming to practice, one finds, that just as religion touches almost all plains of life, including economics, economics does the same, perhaps, all the more, including the religious plane. This could manifest in modes on a continuum between the very subtle to the very gross.

In the subtle, oft unexamined levels, a human being calls upon his/her religious resources, including God(s), for prosperity and economic development, and is glad and obliged to his/her God, when s/he manages to attain economic development. They believe that they owe it to God, and the gratitude is manifested in the form of tithes for religious establishments, *zakkat*, *daan*, etc., all of which have implications for the economic growth of many a dependent one.

2. Religion-Inspired Economic Development

The invariable religious precept of 'love for others' or 'do good'[2] has led to numerous activities in the domain of economics (by way of transfer of economic resources, directly or indirectly). It was by striking the

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[1]See John Dilip Chakkanatt, *Of God and Mammon: J. C. Kumarappa's Religious Theory of Economics as a Counterpoint to the Religion of Economics*, New Delhi: Intercultural Publishers, 2001, xvi, 165.

[2]*Paropakarah punyaya, papaya para pidanam.*

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religious cord that Gandhiji and Vinoba could ensure *Bhoodan* and *Gramdan* on the basis of a very religious ideal of 'trusteeship'.

An academic group in Chicago, the Association for the Study of Religion, Economics and Culture, focuses on the studies pertaining to the influence of religion on economic matters. *Business Week* (December 6, 2004, web version) carried a lead article on "Economics of Religion" by Joseph Weber and Peter Coy. It spoke about how the basic economic theories of supply and demand regulate buying and selling of 'goods and services', whether religious/spiritual or very much mundane. There have been studies showing how religions influence other aspects of economic life and growth through their various rules regulating economics, e.g., laws on interest, inheritance, etc.

The same article cites the view of Harvard University's Robert J. Barro, a *Business Week* columnist, that a strong religious belief can promote economic growth, something in line with the Weberian Protestant Work Ethic. Antony Kariyil (1995), in his doctoral dissertation,[3] has pointed out this phenomenon. He shows that it is not merely confined to Protestant Ethos, but to other communities as well. He brings in the case of the prosperous Syrian Catholic Community of Keralam as proof. If this pertains to the elite section of the society, the influence of religion in economic progress was observed in the so-called backward (socially and economically) communities as well. The dalits of Syrian Catholic Church are a case in point. In spite of being deprived of the state reservation privileges and not receiving much of economic support from the Christian community, and in spite of their belonging to one of the lowest rungs of the society as far as socio-economic status goes, they show standards higher than the state and countrywide status of dalits in general. A recently conducted research points to this as the influence of their religious life and community.[4]

These two show two aspects of economic influence of religion. (1) The economic aspects of religious observances (mostly ritualistic): there are, in fact, thriving businesses and industries based on servicing ritualistic religion; they have the multiple function of a) filling the coffers of

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[3]Antony Kariyil, *Church and Society in Kerala: A Sociological Study*, Delhi: South Asia Books, 1995.

[4]Johnson P. Palakkappillil, *Dalits of Syrian Catholic Church in Keralam*, Kalamassery: Rajagiri College of Social Sciences, 2008 (unpublished doctoral dissertation).

religious establishments, such as temples, mosques, churches, generating income for people providing the religio-spiritual services through these establishments, b) satisfying the religious needs of the devotees, and c) of sustaining the livelihood and income of those involved in the supply of these goods. (2) Economic activities and economic advancement as a resultant of religious ethos: The latter goes true more with personal economic advancement based on the inspirations from one's religious beliefs. Both of them, in effect, are channels turned towards physiological-safety and security needs of human beings, or those of self-aggrandizement.

A casual observation of the past few decades shows great flourishing of religions – all religions – in India. This is indicated by the growth of places of religious worship, like temples, churches, mosques, and other centres of fellowship of various permutations – combinations of Hindu-Christian religions. They, indeed, show prosperity, while the actual numbers of the poor in any of these religions have not decreased, though their percentage might have. This apparently ironical situation of material affluence of religious (read spiritual) centres has been aptly criticized by the Malayali poet Madhusoodhanan Nair. His critique is focused on faith mansions with increasing purchasing power, and religion (*dharmam*) that comes into notice of the public in their process of measuring wealth, and in the process is becoming irreligion (*adharmam*). According to him, the basis of such an increase in economic prosperity is based on devotion that borders around hysteria (*unmada bhakti*):

ponnu kanikka vanchi tan va pilarnnamarunna
kraya seshi vardhicca viswasa metagal...
Panattotalannalunna-dharamavum kantuvo?[5]

Indeed, the economic growth and prosperity of both institutionalized and charismatic religions have been amazing that they grow, proliferate, and erect structures that vie with one another in their uninhibited exhibition of wealth.

Centres of pilgrimages become centres of great commercial activity, which either directly or indirectly sustain the lives of thousands of people. The examples are Velankanni, Sabarimala, Thirupathy, Puttparti,

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[5]V. Madhusoodanan Nair, "*Bharateeyam*" in *Naranattu Brantan*, Kottayam: DC Books, 1992 (2003), 103-104. "The wide mouthed golden collection boxes, the faith mansions with increasing purchasing power... and have you seen, the religion, or rather, irreligion which indulges in measuring its material wealth?"

Haridwar, etc. There are many more of such which act, indeed, as money spinners.

3. Positive Contributions of Social Service Units

On the other had, when it comes to the economics inspired or influenced by religion, there could be an entirely different stream of economic advancement, that is, of serving the cause of the many. As far as the Church in India is concerned, especially its Catholic section, spread all over the country, the volume and figures are really staggering.

Various Christian (more conspicuously, Catholic) dioceses maintain invariable social service units rendering massive services to the economic sector through their programmes in employment generation, capacity building, income generation programmes, etc. These units are generally called 'Diocesan Social Service Societies' in many parts of the country; in other parts, they are called 'Multi-purpose Social Service Societies'. These often have state-wide confederations, like the Kerala Social Service Forum (KSSF) or KROSS in Karnataka. They do the function of coordination among various diocesan social service units.

The vast amount of funds they generate or receive flow out in the form of housing, education grants, and income generation programmes. The typical employment and income generation programmes earlier included training in tailoring, handicrafts (Vimalalayam Model), typewriting, electronics, electrical work, etc. In the modern times, there have been additions to these, especially in the urban centres. The new programmes cover computer basics, Desktop Printing (DTP), motor driving (including assistance in procuring a driver's licence). Besides training, many such organizations initiated production centres where the trainees got employed. Some established linkages with production centres in order to ensure placement for the trainees. Many such centres function as assembling units of well-established companies. Snehagiri (Mala), KRIPA (Chunangumvely), Vimalalayam (Ernakulam), etc., are a few of such initiatives

4. Self-Help Groups: Challenging the Power Equations beyond Religious Colours

A recent trend has been the introduction of self-help groups (SHG) on a massive scale across the country. Originally began with 'Credit Unions', most of them have been initiated by Voluntary Organisations, in the context of Keralam, where the influence of Churches has been tremendous.

Credit Unions served as a strategy for Community Organisation; pooling in of a weekly remittance by the individual members and easy access to credit in the neighbourhood motivated people to come together. This coming together led to other areas of collective action for common good. The model initiated by the academic economist Muhammad Yunus of Bangladesh became a household model in the entire developing world. This had the added emphasis of involvement of women of the neighbourhood, their empowerment through access to timely credit and income generation. The model was eagerly taken up by the voluntary sector on the whole, and by Christian development organizations in particular. While Credit Unions in the segment could be traced to early 80s, we find intensive promotion of SHG concept in the late 90s. By the first five years of the new millennium, the trend was accepted and co-opted in many states into the state poverty alleviation and welfare mechanisms. A unique initiative from Keralam, called *Kutumbasree* (Family Prosperity), has been hailed a functional model; on this front, success stories galore in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh initiatives.

Diocese/ Agency	**Housing**	**Income Generation**	**Employment Generation**	**Agriculture Promotion & Rural Techy**	**SHG – Credit**	**Other**	**Total**
Welfare Services (Ernakulam Arch-diocese)	77,000	8,500,000	5,000,000	2,100, 000	60000000 (30000/1850)	16200000 (including medical aid, etc.)	91,877,000
PSSW (Pala Diocese)	700, 000	4, 500, 000	600, 000		7,254, 120 (17000/1100)		13,254,120
Samagravikas (CMI St. Joseph's Province)	3, 85,000	695, 800	50, 000		5,000, 000 (70)		9, 200, 800

(Note: All the figures are approximate for the year 2007-08)

The above table shows a sample of the inputs in the development-welfare front in a few key sectors of housing, IGP, EGP, agriculture promotion, and SHG strategy. In Keralam alone, there are about 30 Catholic dioceses, with their social outreach wings! The rows 1 and 2 are indicators as to their input in socio-economic development in monetary terms. Besides these, numerous Catholic religious congregations with each

of their provinces having socio-economic development units (row 3 gives a rough picture of the input of such an organization), and the various other Christian denominations, and other religious groups like the Ezhavas, Nairs, Brahmins, etc., and various Muslim religious organizations have contributed enormously towards the development front.

In spite of the government's cooptation of the method into its programmes, and proliferating SHGs all over the state, SHGs initiated by the Church-based organizations proved to be great survivors, with large scale network of such SHGs, which have generally led to some sort income generation programmes. Other religions have not been left behind. The trend has caught the fancy of the Ezhava community, organized under the banner of SNDP, with hundreds of SHGs; most of them, however, have a mark of exclusion, contrasted with the inclusive approach of the Church-based attempts.

Going beyond the terrain of small savings and consumption credits, there had been several Church-based organizations which plunged boldly into highly commercial ventures aiming at large scale employment and income generation. Some such initiatives were by Peerumede Development Society (organic spices, ayurvedic medicines, etc.), Changanassery Social Service Society – CHASSS (manufacturing and sale of furniture, tourist bus operation, *khadi* production, etc.) or Malanadu Development Society (apiculture and marketing of honey) or Kuriakose Elias Service Society (marketing of craft products of artisans).

5. Services and Economic Development

When it comes to the economics of services offered, in the name of or inspired by religion, two vital sectors of development deserve special attention: education and healthcare.

5.1. Education

Various religious groups, especially the Christian Churches in India, have been a formidable presence in the field of primary as well as higher education. In the initial phase, it had invariably been a service to the various deprived sections. The economic impact by way of building up social capital, human resource development, employment generation, etc., was tremendous. In the later phase, as education spread to every nook and corner of the country (though there are many areas which still continue to be very much deprived), the focus of education mission appears to have shifted from meeting the basic educational needs to ensuring quality and

excellence in education. In this trend, the Church-based institutions have been in the lead, while others, like the Muslim Education Society, SNDP, and similar other bodies have not been out of the picture. In this phase, while the stress on quality, facility, and infrastructure has been undeniable, these education ventures invariably got transformed into business ventures with a concern for costs, ranging from a desire for a no loss status (break even) to that of generating handsome revenues. This has also been the case with centres of higher and technical education.

In the last one decade, in the state of Keralam, the contribution of religious institutions, Church-based institutions being outstanding among them, in the field of higher and technical education has been very significant. A new wave of starting such institutions of higher learning, with superior infrastructure, has had great economic impact. From a very superficial assessment, there has been around 15000 jobs – professional, para-professional and others – created from about 30 odd such institutions run by various religious groups. Apart from that, the economic development around such institutions by way of establishing various service outlets – food, lodging, stationery, etc. – has also been substantial. The savings generated by the native population, by availing the locally available centres of education, rather than going elsewhere in the country have also to be taken into account.

While, on the whole, the media and political parties have created a very negative picture of this initiative, and the various religions, especially the churches and their authorities, have been much maligned as profit seekers, the economic impact and contribution to economic development of the localities and of the region, as a whole, are yet to be studied systematically. Towards the latter part of this phase, such institutions started by the Church groups, especially the Catholic section, have introduced tangible measures that would help the economically backward sections.

5.2. Healthcare

This has been another traditional service sector, the religions, more so the Church organizations (here again, Catholics being more conspicuous), have done tremendous work purely with service orientation. The care of the sick and the infirm was seen as a mission. This has been traditionally so with the rest of the healthcare professions as well. While the modern trend of healthcare is that of providing quality service for which the clients

are expected to pay as if in any other business or profit venture, the Church-based healthcare units have been still sticking on to the tradition of providing quality care to the poor and members of the backward sections of the society. They have consciously adhered to the norm of accessibility of all, from basic to quality healthcare. Again, to take stock of the economic contribution in this regard would be a laborious task.

6. A Critique on Religion-Inspired Development

A brief survey of various economic activities initiated in the name of religions or inspired by religious faith reveals a wide range of activities and a massive turnover of money. However, it does not deny the fact that the vast majority of these interventions and initiatives have been based on a passive and uncritical acceptance of the status quo and the dominant development paradigm. Concerns for justice and equality are more at the appendix level, rather than in the mainstream of developmental projects. Activities leading to structural changes (system-changing action) on the basis of the core religious values, like justice, are very much missing; rather works of the nature of 'patch work' (system-maintenance action), which, at the best, address the 'access and approach needs', constitute the current paradigm. Here vital issues of sustainability are not seriously considered. A typical example could be the religion-based support efforts for 'marrying women off' by providing for dowry and/or marriage expenditures. There had been occasions when the organizations felt incapable of initiating action for the cause of justice for the fear of withdrawal of projects or funds by the state or other funding agencies!

Another aspect of such initiatives is that of 'project implementation': developmental projects are initiated precisely because project funds are available, and not necessarily because it is the need of the people. For example, there had been funds tied to stigma and HIV prevention, while these had not been identified as people's needs by the target groups, rather had been an agenda-driven intervention. Many of the religion (Church) based organizations have been eager to take them up.

Another grey area is that of being a duplicator in the place of being a pioneer. Even when the state machinery has introduced a system to address the credit needs of the local poor, the religious initiatives, instead of supplementing or complementing, have been duplicating the system. They appear to become unwary victims of the 'spirit of competition' and 'survival struggle', all leading to unhealthy competition with the state initiatives and also among various religious or non-religious voluntary

organizations themselves. The monopolistic market thinking has not been without its impact on the domains ruled by religions as well.

A fourth criticism of such initiatives is the lip service done to the vital principle of sustainability through participation. In operation, participation happens only at the levels of implementation and of receiving the benefits. Very rarely does it go to the realms of conceiving, designing, and evaluating, and above all, in owning. The initiatives do not sustain; if at all they sustain, it is because the external organization sustains, and not because local organizations have grown capable of sustaining such efforts. The question whether the target groups want to own or take responsibility is a moot one, something which is to be thoroughly researched before jumping into a conclusion.

A fifth area of negative performance is the involvement with the basic production sector of agriculture. The present involvement of the development organizations having a religious basis has failed in promoting the primary sector of development, i.e., agriculture. While we experience a food security threat and the world over development sector speaks about 'food sovereignty', the involvement and initiative of development front of religions have been minimal. While development organizations led by inspired individuals like Vandana Shiva (*Bij*, Delhi) or community initiatives, like that of Anna Hazare (perhaps not without a religious foothold), have really made an impact and have gone to the extent of influencing thinking and policy across the globe, the rather well established development organizations are conspicuous by the absence of their contribution in this sector.

A final threat of religious economics is that of the economics of fundamentalism and terrorism. Eli Berman, an associate professor of economics at the University of California at San Diego, finds economics working behind the religious choices of fundamentalism, martyrdom, etc. It implies what is thought to be sacrifices by motivated young men (and rarely, women) from average socio-economic background. He proposes that prosperity through freer markets might reduce this economics of religions.[6] Laurance Iannaconne proposes disruption of the firms that sponsor such religious involvement, rather than freer markets as the solution.[7]

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[6]Joseph Weber and Peter Coy, "Religion of Economics," *Business Week*, December 6, 2004.

[7]Weber and Coy, "Religion of Economics."

7. Conclusion

The religious inspirations are invariably found to have economic implications. While those typically religious (ritualistic) activities are found to be having direct and indirect economic bearing, spanning the range of small to enormous, there are also a wide range of activities usually termed developmental, which are inspired by religious values and implemented through the medium of religious institutions and organizations. The total monetary input could, indeed, be staggering! Their share in the total welfare activities would be sizeable. In spite of the huge volume of developmental inputs in monetary terms, in most cases, they still belong to the category of maintaining the systems and structures, which are found to be mostly unjust and corrupt. The religions, on the whole, have yet to wake up to the call of liberative justice, and fashion their development involvement in a more creative, critical, and radical fashion.

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RELIGION AND POVERTY
A Qur'anic Approach

Asghar Ali Engineer♦

I got an invitation from Union Theological Seminary, New York, to participate in a seminar on "Religion and Poverty." I welcomed this opportunity to speak on the subject on which I had written a great deal in the past under the title *Liberation Theology in Islam*.

The very first day we visited a union office to understand issues of poverty in the USA. It was, indeed, moving to see so much poverty in the land of plenty. It was all along known that there is poverty in the USA, but it was a different thing to experience it in the field. We were taken to an office of the association of restaurant workers. We were told that more than 40,000 restaurant workers were rendered unemployed when the two world trade towers collapsed on 9/11 in which about three thousand people were killed.

We could hardly imagine that such a huge work force was rendered jobless on 9/11 as entire focus was on those killed and on politics of terror and foreign policy of the nation. No one ever referred to woes of these restaurant workers who lost their jobs and continue to suffer till today in various ways. No one was ready to employ them, firstly, because they were unionized and secondly because many of them had no documents required by immigration. For years, they continued to suffer until they came together to form their own association for their survival. We listened to the story of their suffering and survival and drew inspiration.

Many of these workers, as pointed out, are those who have migrated from other countries, some without valid documents. They are most exploited lot because of their legal vulnerability. It is for this reason that Qur'an considers *ibn al-sabil* (travellers, strangers) among the weak and treat them on par with poor and needy and apportions a part of *zakat* (tithe) for this category. Thus, a correct Islamic attitude can help this most vulnerable section in the USA and other countries.

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The same day the seminar began on "Religion and Poverty." Resource persons from Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Hinduism took part in the debate. From an Islamic viewpoint, I spoke on Qur'an and its various verses deeply committed to the eradication of poverty. Mecca, as I have pointed out in my writings on liberation theology, was passing through a period of deep social malaise which disturbed Muhammad, the prophet of Islam (PBUH). This social malaise was caused by extreme wealth (from Meccan standards of those days), on one side, and extreme poverty, on the other. Interestingly, the Qur'an uses the word *miskeen* for the poor and the needy. Its root is *sakana* (meaning, he remained motionless) and a needy *miskeen* is one who is rendered immobilized due to a state of helplessness. Thus, Qur'an shows great sympathy with *masakeen*, the poor and the needy. In Mecca, when the rich traders were neglecting these sections of society, including orphans and widows, there was no state mechanism to bring about proper distribution of wealth through taxation; on the part of the rich merchants, they had no will to set apart a part of their wealth to mitigate the misery of these suffering sections. Also, tribal norms were being destroyed by the greed of wealthy merchants. The Prophet of Islam (PBUH) was seriously disturbed by this state of affairs in Mecca. He could not tolerate this acute suffering of the poor, needy, orphans, and widows. He was an extremely sensitive soul. He himself had suffered poverty in his childhood. He came from a respectable family of clan of Hashim but had very little means of survival. He was an orphan as his parents had died in his early childhood and was brought up by his grandfather and then by his uncle.

It is important to note that Allah chose Muhammad (PBUH), a poor and an orphan, for the prophethood. He did not choose a wealthy or influential person of Meccan society for spreading His Mission. That is why the rich merchants of Mecca held him in contempt that a poor orphan is claiming to be the Prophet of Allah. They thought it is below their high position to submit to a poor orphan who hardly had any means of survival.

The message of Allah was clear: poor have as much human dignity and are capable of spreading Allah's mission as anyone else. Allah does not necessarily choose wealthy and socially influential for His mission. Thus, prophethood was destined for the poor; poverty is a social condition, and not a permanent status. Muhammad (PBUH) also showed the world how one can maintain one's dignity despite strained economic conditions. He never adopted 'high style' of life, even when he was capable due to his changed condition in Madina.

Throughout the Qur'an, one finds Allah's sympathy with the poor and the needy. Qur'an even declares that Allah is on the side of the poor, the needy, and the weak (*mustad'ifin*) and it is these weaker sections of society who will be made leaders of this earth and would inherit it (Qur'an 28:5). Thus, no one can have any doubt that Allah is on the side of the weak and the poor and, certainly, not on the side of powerful and arrogant described by Qur'an as *mustakbirun*.

Nimrod and Pharaoh are examples of power and arrogance and they perished by their own deeds of oppression and exploitation. They were challenged by Allah's prophets Abraham and Moses; both of them, again, come from weaker sections of society. It is these prophets who liberated their nation from oppression (*zulm*). We all, to this day, condemn Nimrod and Pharaoh and salute Abraham and Moses.

Qur'an upholds life based on need and condemns greed in different ways. Ideally, Qur'an requires believers to retain only what is needed to fulfil their basic needs and the rest shall be given away in the way of Allah (Qur'an 2:219). Of course, need is a socially dynamic concept and may vary from time to time and place to place. What are basic needs in the USA may not be necessarily so in India or African countries.

The American poor may possess a car, but car is not necessarily an indicator of prosperity as it is in India or other developing countries. Social needs of a particular society would determine the levels of need and greed. What the Qur'an condemns is greed and accumulation. In Mecca, it came out with a concept of *zakat* as charity; when a sort of state structure began to develop in Madina, however, it became an obligatory levy with a well defined *nisab* (slab). Though Qur'an did not fix any rate or slab, it exhorted believers to give away what is surplus. The Prophet (PBUH) took a practical attitude and required believers to take out at least two and half percent of their wealth and income at the end of the year.

However, the Qur'an described the portions of *zakat* to be spent on the needy, the poor, orphans and widows, for release of prisoners, for travellers, for the indebted and for undefined category 'in the way of Allah' (Qur'an 9:60). This verse on *zakat* embraces all weaker sections of society and is as much valid today as it was when revealed.

It is, however, very unfortunate that the so-called Islamic states give more importance to punishments than poverty reduction program of the Qur'an. Reason is very clear. Punishments help impose state's authority and protect the elite supporting the state while undertaking poverty

reduction program amounts to hurting the rich and powerful. Islam lays great emphasis on social justice and justice in all its forms.

The Prophet never showed any favour to the powerful and rich and rigorously tried to impose justice as required by the Qur'an. There are several verses in Qur'an emphasizing *qist* and *'adl* (justice and equity) like 49:9, 72:15, 5:42, 49:9, 60:9, and so on. However, all modern Islamic states have strayed far from this Qur'anic ideal. The contemporary Islamic states are dominated by the powerful and rich and are oppressive and exploitative in nature and yet claim to be Islamic states by merely enforcing some *Shari'at* rules on punishment and personal laws.

In fact, the Qur'an maintains the understanding of a just social order, irrespective of nature of state structure. However, to implement the Qur'anic punishment without fully implementing its just social system itself is *zulm* (oppression). If social structures are unjust and there remain poverty and suffering in the society, first priority would be enforcement of social, economic, and legal justice.

The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was extremely sensitive to the suffering humanity, especially to those who suffered from woes of poverty. He is reported to have said that it is more meritorious to feed a hungry soul than to pray the whole night and that in the vicinity of hungry people, angels of mercy do not descend. He required Muslims to pay *fitrah*, i.e., a portion of ones wealth to the poor on the occasion of *Eid* so that poor could also partake in the celebrations of festival.

While setting up a society in Madina, the Prophet's whole emphasis was on equality among believers. When migrants came from Mecca to Madina he established a novel form of institution, called *mu'akhat* (i.e., brotherhood) between one immigrant and one helper from Madina who was well-settled there. Till the time one gets on his own, the helper would support the former for his livelihood. However, the immigrant was required to start earning his own livelihood. This created an atmosphere of cooperation among the people.

It also helped create a self-supporting people so that they do not become burdens on others. Some immigrants were quite well to do in Mecca but as immigrants they were helpless in the new situation. These immigrants soon began to earn their own livelihood through trade and other economic activities. The Prophet himself was an immigrant and many helpers (*Ansar*) considered it a great privilege to keep him and his family at their respective houses. The Prophet, however, declined and preferred to establish himself and soon he constructed his own quarters

along with a mosque, which came to be known as Masjid al-Nabi, the mosque of the Prophet.

Also, the Prophet (PBUH) called leaders of all religious groups and tribal chiefs to draw up a covenant to live in harmony with each other despite pursuing different religions – Islam, Judaism, Christianity, and Paganism – and different tribal traditions. It came to be known as Mithaq-i-Madina, a novel political document of its time. It was very close to the modern political ethos. In fact, Prophet's Madina presents the best model of religious pluralism which even the West came to adopt in later part of the twentieth century.

Though there was no formal government, Madina became the best governed city depending entirely on mutual cooperation and voluntary services, including defence services. Formal state structure did not develop in Madina until the Umayyad period. Even during the four Caliphs, who succeeded the Prophet, there was hardly proper state structure except some elements of it. However, despite severe challenges and complex problems Madina was the better governed city compared to capitals of powerful empires like Roman and Sassanid empires. There was great emphasis on social justice without heavy burden of taxation. It was the spirit of social justice based on the concept of equality and equal dignity for all human beings (Qur'an 17:70) that created a just social order.

Though Abu Bakr, the first Caliph after the Prophet, did not get much time to organize Madinese society due to his preoccupation with tribal revolt (war of *riddah*) Umar and Ali, the 2nd and 4th Caliphs, tried their best to create a just society. Umar used to say: "I will be responsible to Allah even if a dog died of hunger in my regime." He used to impose norms of governance very strictly. He chided his most competent general Khalid bin Walid when he came to know that the latter had given a large amount of money to a poet because he liked his composition.

Ali, who was the bravest general and a great scholar, orator, and a poet, was very rigorous in dispensing justice according to the Qur'anic ideals. He would not allow a single dirham to be spent from Bait al-Mal (state treasury) without justification. He chided his own brother Aquil when he wanted money from state treasury for himself. Ali would take from state treasury as much as he would give to his servant, not more, not less.

When an Arab woman demanded more from Ali than a non-Arab woman, Ali said: "By Allah I would not make any distinction between an

Arab and Ajam (non-Arab)." It was because of such rigorous imposition of justice that Madina could avoid, at least for few years, the extremes of riches and poverty. One must, however, admit that this did not last long as when Caliphate was turned into a monarchy by Mu'awiyah who nominated his son Yazid as his successor. All norms of social justice were thrown to winds as the Caliphate turned into a dynastic empire and, thus, worst kind of oppression and exploitation began. Maulana Maududi, in his book *Khilafat aur Mulukiyyat*, has given a vivid description of this change. It is worth noting that a society could remain just only if it is small in size and not obsessed with power. It is megalomania which leads not only to complex problems in the society but also severe injustice, exploitation, and subjugation of others. It is megalomania of western powers which resulted in colonialism, leading further to wars and bloodshed, as is seen in the global war initiated by 'American' priorities.

The Christian community too led a life according to the ideals of the Bible, though the whole character of Christianity changed once it was associated with the Roman Empire. Thus, history has proved that political power and religious spirit cannot go together. Political power is based on coercion and religion on persuasion. If we want religion to be an important resource to fight poverty in contemporary society, it should never be associated with political power. I stated during the seminar in Union Theological Seminary that if we want religion to be an important resource, give training to your students that they should fight poverty by siding with the poor, not with rich and powerful in pursuit of political power. Our priests and religious preachers should be strongly committed to social justice which is the real spirit of religion.

Within Christianity, the liberation theology was developed in the poor and exploited Latin America, and not in the powerful and affluent USA. The Catholic priests working among poor peasantry and urban poor in Latin America stood by the oppressed and exploited and developed liberation theology, which the powerful church hesitated to recognize. Many of these priests were killed by the powerful landlords. Supreme sacrifice is the real spirit of religion. Qur'an also says: "You cannot attain to righteousness unless you give (in the way of Allah) what you love." Thus, real spirit of religion is giving, not receiving, sacrificing, not accumulating. Wherever religion gets associated with powers that be, it remains anything but religion. Then, religion assumes the form of rituals completely devoid of spirit. The whole history of church during medieval

ages and history of Islam through various empires, beginning with Umayyad Empire, is a powerful demonstration of this fact.

Separation of church and state is the right doctrine but it is observed more in breach than in practice. Religion must remain a powerful critic of powers that be and should play subversive role for establishment. Political revolutions fail because ultimate logic of political revolution is to seize power from one set of elite for another set of elite without bringing any qualitative change.

Religious revolution, on the other hand, plays, initially at least, a different role to bring about qualitative change in society by ushering in a just structure. However, soon it also gets associated with political power and its spirit is lost in the ocean of lust for power. All religious revolutions also lost their edge soon after they tried to change society. It is this dilemma which human beings have faced since the beginning of known history.

In fact, religion and poverty should never go together and religion should once again play the role of a powerful critic of the established powers who thrive by accentuating unjust distribution of social resources. A truly religious society cannot be built by building grand temples, churches, mosques, and gurdwaras, but by building a simple and need-based social structure. Poverty is opposite of material riches, not of simple need-based lifestyle. The resources of our earth are limited and must be used with a great sense of economy. The right word in Arabic for simple need-based lifestyle is *faqr*, which implies patience, constraint on desire, and dignified but simple lifestyle. The Prophet of Islam also said *faqr* is my pride (*al-faqr fakhri*). However, today we see the so-called religious personalities living in high style in grand buildings and maintaining an army of servants and subservient followers. A truly religious person should never be afraid of social critique and should never display power and influence. He/she should be distinguished from others by simplicity, honesty, and transparency.

One who gives into greed and opulence can never be seen with the masses. All great founders of religions are known for their simplest possible lifestyle, be it Buddha, Christ, Muhammad, or Nanak. Also, Sufi saints, like Baba Farid, Moinuddin Chishti, or Nizamuddin Awliya, led a life of *faqr* in its true sense. Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, often used to eat dry bread with salt and curd. Nizamuddin Awliya fasted during day and would break it with a dry piece of bread. Yet, they were so powerful

that kings used to envy their popularity. Moreover, they remained powerful critics of power-seeking monarchs.

This, of course, cannot be realized as history has shown but until then religion should remain critical of oppression and exploitation and be seen always on the side of the week. It should advocate moral, not political power. Its superiority should lie in moral superiority. If religions perform this role there will be no conflict among religions but only among exploiters. Religions, unfortunately, fight among themselves, as they become tools of exploiters.

Religion being a powerful critic of the powerful must be on the side of the oppressed and exploited to fulfil its role in society. Tagore, in his *Geetanjali*, rightly points out that if you are seeking God you will not find it in grand temples but in workers breaking stones in the heat and dust of summer. Real miracle is not to produce things from nowhere as many charlatans do, but transform our society into a just and cooperative one, than sheer competitive society where all can have their needs fulfilled and live a rich spiritual life.

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RECENT RISE OF THE KOREAN MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

Sociological Assessment with Religious, Economic, and Developmental Dimensions

Sangkeun Kim♦

1. Introduction

Bishop Stephen Neill, an eminent historian of Christian mission, finishes his entry on "Christian Mission" in Mircea Eliade's epoch-making *The Encyclopaedia of Religion* with the following remark:

> In the past, the gospel travelled across continents and oceans almost exclusively in one direction. Has not the time come to establish two way traffic, to have the gospel travel across continents and oceans in many directions? If this is true, the word *mission* may be in need of new and contemporary definition.[1]

Neill's entry was published in 1987. Some twenty years following the savant's predictive remark, the time has come to redefine the term *mission*. It is true that the gospel travels across continents and oceans in many directions today. Traditional missionary-receiving countries are now becoming missionary-sending countries and *vice versa*. Among these two-way transactions, the trans-national missionary movement of Korean Christianity serves as an outstanding case for a new and contemporary definition of *mission*.

Sociological accounts of why the Korean missionary movement is expanding today might directly refer to the modern history of Korean Christianity itself, since the two developments are not separable in nature. Several hypotheses have been offered to explain the sudden rise of the Korean missionary movement after the 1990s, largely from historical perspectives. Among these explanations, the revivalism factor has been the most convincing one. According to this approach, the revivals that caused

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[1]Stephen Neill, "Christian Mission," in *Encyclopedia of Religions*, vol. 9, Mircea Eliade, ed., New York: MacMillan, 1987, 578.

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the explosive growth of the Christian population during the 1970s and 1980s in Korea propelled subsequent missionary expansions from the late 1980s, especially after the successful hosting of the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympic Games. As Andrew Walls points out, there is a close relationship between revival and mission, and the spiritual renewal through the great revival of the 1970s and 1980s triggered Korean missionaries' impulse to go to the world.[2] To supplement this historical analysis, a sociological investigation of the Korean missionary movement is greatly needed. A sociological analysis of the phenomenal growth of the Korean church was previously attempted by some scholars,[3] but no significant academic research on the recent Korean missionary movement has been offered from the perspective of the sociology of mission.[4] I will investigate the sociology of the recent Korean missionary movement here based on the scheme described below.

First, the various aspects of religious diffusion through the Korean missionary movement today will be discussed with updated statistics regarding the number of incumbent Korean missionaries, key mission players, hosting regions by continents and countries, gender and marital divisions of missionaries, ordained and lay divisions of missionaries, and main ministerial roles. Second, the present Korean missionary movement will be investigated from the sending side, receiving side, and the relationship between the two. The recent rise of the Korean missionary movement began immediately after the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympic Games, with the initial involvements of campus ministry groups, such as CCC (Campus Crusade for Christ) and UBF (University Bible Fellowship) at Korean universities. The sending sides of the recent Korean missionary movement should be approached from the point of view of younger Korean generations' "frontier spirit," which had been strengthened by a positive worldview in relation to self-image during the second half of the 1980s. The economic factor, which reshaped the self-image of Koreans who thought that they had "something to give" to the world, has promoted a "frontier spirit" for foreign mission among these youngsters for foreign

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[2]Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996, 79.

[3]For example, Byong-suh Kim, "The Explosive Growth of the Korean Church Today: A Sociological Analysis," *International Review of Mission* 74 (January 1985), 59-72.

[4]For a definition of "the sociology of mission," see Robert Montgomery, *Introduction to the Sociology of Missions*, Westport: Praeger, 1996.

mission. I would like to suggest here that the new enhanced self-image of young Koreans, based on Korea's economic development, was responsible for the greatest missionary impulse of the last two decades. In terms of the receiving sides, it seems Korean missionaries are being accepted since they are delivering a tangible development model not only for economic success, but also for spiritual growth to the people of the underdeveloped mission-hosting countries. The positive image of the Korean economy's remarkable success coincides temporally with Korean missionaries' theology of prosperity at the same time. Finally, I will discuss the relationship between the sending and receiving factors from the broader aspect of globalization. Certainly, the globalization aspects of Christian mission are not limited to the Korean case. If we accept Malcolm Waters' definition of "globalization" as "a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangement recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding,"[5] the worldwide presence of Korean missionaries should be discussed in the context of the following question: what is the global role of Korean missionaries for "the intensification of worldwide social relationships"?[6] The sending determination of Korean Christianity and the receiving necessity of Korean missionaries in the hosting countries are not separable in the era of globalization since there are designated roles of Korean missionaries for the intensification of worldwide social relationships with their characteristic "evangelical" components. Moreover, Korean missionaries are an "aggressive international sales force" for exporting American Gospel, the theology of prosperity, to the world.[7]

2. Korean Missionary Movement Today

The current Korean missionary movement has been introduced as "the second largest missionary-sending" by mission scholars and this introduction is correct, if we consider the mere number of incumbent Korean missionaries worldwide.[8] If we also accept Philip Jenkins's

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[5]Malcolm Waters, *Globalization*, London: Routledge, 1995, 3.

[6]It is Anthony Giddens who defines "globalization" as "the intensification of worldwide social relations." See, Donald Lewis, "Globalization, Religion and Evangelicalism," *Crux* 38, 2 (June 2002), 35.

[7]Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford, and Susan Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism*, New York: Routledge, 1996, 11.

[8]Steve Moon, "The Recent Korean Missionary Movement," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 27, 1 (January 2003), 11-16.

diagnosis of Christianity as "the global religion,"[9] Korean missionaries are becoming key-players in the diffusion of global religion.

A statistical analysis of the Korean missionary movement was first attempted by Marlin L. Nelson who conducted actual counting from 1979 to 1989. The Korean Research Institute for Mission (KRIM) succeeded Nelson and has done biennial statistical research since 1990. Steve Moon, director of KRIM, has gracefully provided me the most up-to-date statistical data. I will use it to briefly introduce the rapidly changing composition of the Korean missionary movement, evident in the following chart.

Year	Number of Missionaries	Number of Mission Agencies	Number of Host Countries
1979	93	21	26
1982	323	47	37
1986	511	65	47
1989	1,170	66	72
1990	1,645	74	87
1992	2,576	90	105
1994	3,272	113	119
1996	4,402	113	138
1998	5,948	127	145
2000	8,103	136	162
2002	10,422	163	164
2004	12,874	165	160

The Statistical Composition of the Korean Missionary Movement (1979-2004)

As the chart above shows, Korean churches are now sending at least 12,874 Korean missionaries worldwide as of 2004.[10] Since this number does not include independent Korean missionaries sent abroad by local churches in Korea and other Korean missionaries sent by Korean *diaspora* churches, especially from the United States, it is an estimated minimum. It is true that the Korean church is becoming a key player in world

[9]Philip Jenkins, *Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

[10]Also see, Steve Sang-Cheol Moon, "The Spiritual Influence of Korea: The Movement and Task of Korean Mission," *KIATS Theological Journal* 2, 1 (2006), 177.

evangelization today in terms of total numbers. As Moon points out, however, the average growth rate, which, during the explosive period 1990 to 2000 exceeded a 35% biennial increase, is now subsiding to a level less than 25% increase. It seems that the Korean missionary movement is losing some of its initial enthusiasm, but the morale of sending "more" missionary personnel to the world is not fading at all. At a recent mission conference, held in May 2006, the conservative and evangelical Christian Council of Korea and the Korean World Mission Association announced that the two organizations would campaign to send 100,000 Korean missionaries throughout the world by the year 2030.[11]

The actual number of missionaries increases by more than 1,400 annually. The largest missionary-sending agency is University Bible Fellowship (UBF) with 1,320 missionaries. The next largest missionary-sending agencies are mostly denominational boards of mission: Global Missionary Society of the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in Korea with 1,287 missionaries, The Presbyterian Church of Korea (Tong-hap) with 849, The Methodist Mission Board with 702, and The Assemblies of God with 555. The forerunners of the Korean missionary movement during the early 1990s were mainly recruited and managed by campus ministry groups, such as UBF, CCC, and IVF (InterVarsity Christian Fellowship), but now the proportion of denominational missionaries is increasing. More recruitment from denominational mission boards directly indicates that more ordained pastors are getting involved in missionary enterprises.

According to KRIM's missionary statistics, however, only 28.2% of Korean missionaries are ordained. However, since these statistics count a missionary's spouse as a "lay" missionary, the actual "ordained" missionary couples constitute at least 56% of the Korean missionary community. The increasing number of ordained missionaries is closely related to home mission. The Korean seminaries' over-surplus of seminary-educated ministry candidates, which far exceeds the hiring capacity of local churches, has had direct influence upon the recent increase of "ordained" missionaries.

In terms of hosting continents and countries, Asia (49.6%) and China (1,482 missionaries) rank the highest. Beyond Asia, Korean missionaries

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[11]"The Second Missionary Revivals: 100,000 Korean Missionaries by the Year 2030," *Kuk-Min Daily*, May 31, 2006.

are scattered throughout the world: North America (11.2%), Eurasia (9.6%), Africa (7.8%), Central and Latin America (5.5%), Western Europe (3.4%), the Middle East (3.4%), Russia (3.2%), and the South Pacific Ocean (2.6%).[12] Beyond China, with respect to hosting countries, the favoured destinations of Korean missionaries' are either North American countries or Asian countries: the United States (994), Japan (691), the Philippines (666), Russia (407), Germany (346), Thailand (327), Indonesia (322), India (300), and Canada (221).[13] As Steve Moon indicates, Korean missionaries in developed countries such as the United States, Germany, and Canada are focusing on the various types of campus ministries. In other words, Korean missionaries who are working in developed countries have been sent by campus ministry groups, such as UBF and CCC. Consequently, they are mostly "lay" and "tent-maker" missionaries.

In KRIM's statistics, no more than 5.8% of the total Korean missionaries are working among the Korean *diaspora* communities in their mission destinations. Thus, it is obvious that the majority of Korean missionaries are "cross-cultural" in nature. In terms of the types of Korean missionaries, the characteristic "cross-cultural" components are revealing, with the major focuses being discipleship training (39%) and church planting (35.3%). Other areas of ministry include educational ministry (7.2%), theological education (4.4%), preaching tours (4.4%), Bible translation (2.5%), and medical mission (2.5%).

With respect to the gender and marital status breakdown, there are more female (52.2%) than male (47.8%) missionaries and only 16.2% of all missionaries are single, while the majority (83.8%) are married. In terms of age, interestingly, 78.2% of missionaries are in their 30s or 40s.[14] The majority of Korean missionaries attended college during the 1980s and early 1990s. Some Korean sociologists call people in their 30s and 40s "the 386 Generation," meaning "the people of generation in their 30s and 40s, who were born in 1960s and were attending their college in the 1980s." It is also plausible that "the 386 Generation" is, indeed, the major force behind the Korea missionary movement today.

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[12]Moon, "The Spiritual Influence of Korea," 180.

[13]Moon, "The Spiritual Influence of Korea," 181.

[14]8% of Korean missionaries are in their 20s, 36.4% in their 30s, 41.8% in their 40s, 11.3% in their 50s, and 2.6% in their 60s. See, Moon, "The Spiritual Influence of Korea," 182.

3. The Push Factors for the Missionary Impulse: The Sense of Calling with Increased National Pride as a "New Nation"

During the 1980s, the Korean economy skyrocketed with an average 10.1% annual growth rate throughout the decade of economic boom. Especially from 1980 to 1988, the Korean economy boasted the highest increase of annual growth rate in the world. The so-called "export-driven" economic policy worked efficiently with the Korean companies' entrepreneurial spirit and the Korean government's rigid protective trade policies. The business tycoons of Korea, such as the owners of Samsung, LG, Hyundai Motors, Daewoo Electronics, and SK, enthusiastically expanded their market boundaries in the world. The economic prosperity of the nation during the 1980s was unprecedented in the history of Korea, which has existed for about 5,000 years. In the early 1960s, Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world, following the brutal Japanese colonialism and the bloody Korean War. At that time, Korea's GDP was only $79, nearly the same as that of Sudan in Africa. Less than 30 years later, however, Korea had become an industrialized country. Many economists referred to Korea's rapid economic growth as "the Miracle of Han River."

The symbolic climax of those affluent decades occurred at the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympic Games. After the successful hosting of the Olympic Games, Koreans identified themselves as people of a new nation. The shameful history of the Japanese Colonial Occupation (1910-1945), national division into South and North Korea after the destructive Korean War (1950-1953), the image of a war-ruined poor country, and the memory of the long-lasting military dictatorship were finally fading away. The self-identity of Korea as a new nation has been reproduced and promoted by the patriotic rhetoric of political leaders ever since. In 2005, Korea was ranked as the tenth largest economic power in the world. With the fierce competition from other emerging countries, so-called BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, and China), the Korean economy is thriving more than ever. Korea is now one of the economic superpowers in Asia, along with Japan, China, and India.

Since the end of the 1980s, Korea has become a country with "something to give" to the world for the first time. The Korean soap operas, pop music, and cinema provide many neighbouring Asian countries with Korea's cultural influence. For example, a Korean TV drama, *Winter Sonata*, was a sensational hit in Japan during the early

2000s, and the main characters of the drama became cultural icons not only in Japan, but also in many south-eastern Asian countries. The Chinese National TV station airs a Korean language program everyday. Korean actors and pop singers have been cheered by the young Chinese generation. In Hong Kong, a Korean TV drama, titled *Tae-jang-kum*, gathered about 47% of the population in front of their TV screens, which is a record in the history of Hong Kong's entertainment industry. It was recently announced that *Tae-jang-kum* will be aired in Arabic countries soon. Many Arabic countries, including Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the Arab Emirate, Kuwait, Syria, and Jordan, have signed a contract with the Korean Broadcasting System, the national TV station of Korea that produced *Tae-jang-kum*.

The 2002 World Cup Game, co-hosted by Korea and Japan, was another event that Koreans found to represent their renewed self-image as a new nation. When the Korean soccer team made the semi-finals at the World Cup, Koreans saw themselves as they did after the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. As BBC News reported, the young Koreans' cheering for the national soccer team looks "more like a religious revival than a pep rally for a sporting event."[15] Korean nationalism has fused with soccer, especially amongst younger generations. As their economy expands, so does their sense of national pride as a new nation. The players who defeated the national football (soccer) teams of Italy and Portugal are the young Korean generation's new *alter ego*.

As mentioned, the early players of the Korean missionary movement throughout the late 1980s and the early 1990s were mainly young college-graduates who had experienced a state of religious excitement at the missionary-recruiting revivals sponsored by several para-church movements and campus ministry groups, such as Mission Korea, UBF, CCC, and IVF. Young Korean college students had a similar sense of calling and of the obligation to volunteer for foreign mission as did young American college students who had volunteered in the years from 1890 to 1917. The slogan adopted by the Student Volunteers Movement was repeated by the Korean college students about a century later in Korea: "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation!"

In the Weberian sociological sense, Protestantism, the specific form of Calvinism, has a close connection with the rise of the Western

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[15]Charles Scanlon, "South Korea's Hard Act to Follow," *BBC News Internet Edition*, May 24, 2006.

capitalism as it produced "sober, serious, and disciplined people who worked hard and, anxious to demonstrate to themselves that they were among God's chosen people."[16] According to Donald Lewis' succinct summary of Weberian understanding regarding the connection between Protestantism and capitalism, the Protestants "came to equate the idea of 'calling' with 'career.'"[17] The Korean missionaries who left Korea during the late 1980s and the early 1990s were mostly young people who just graduated from college. It seems they equated the sense of God's calling with their missionary career under the broader influence of a Calvinistic framework. It is quite astonishing to see that the major sending force of the recent Korean missionary movement has been the conservative Calvinist circle. The Tong-hap, Hap-dong, and Ko-shin Presbyterians, all in the traditional Calvinistic framework, have been providing theological impetus to the young Korean missionaries of the world by fusing the idea of calling with career.

Their missionary impulse, however, has not been limited to the Calvinistic framework. The national pride as a new nation and missionary sense of calling as the people of a chosen country for world mission are closely connected with missionary impulse among young Korean missionaries. The connection has already been found in some speeches and remarks of mission pioneers. For example, Dae-sun Park, President of Yonsei University, asserted in 1980 that "God is calling Koreans to make them the second 'chosen people'" and that's why "God protected the Koreans from the communists' invasion from north during the Korean War." In his article, titled, "The Light of East," Park claimed that it was "God's watchful providence to make the Korean churches financially prosper."[18] Chong-sung Lee of the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary in Seoul (the largest and "hardest-to-enter" seminary in Korea) even encouraged Korean Christians for foreign mission in 1981 by claiming God called Korea to be "the last witness" to the world.[19] He claimed that splendid church growth, financial capability for foreign mission, and a renewed national pride were providing the concrete platform for the Korean missionary movement to the world. The prime

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[16]Donald Lewis, "Globalization, Religion and Evangelicalism," *Crux* 38, 2 (June 2002), 41.

[17]Lewis, "Globalization, Religion and Evangelicalism," 41.

[18]Dae-sun Park, "The Light of East," *Han-kuk Bok-um-shin-moon*, March 23, 1980.

[19]Chong-sung Lee, "The World Is Calling Us," *Shin-hak Chun-chu* 33 (1981), 11.

players in the initial stage of the Korean missionary movement, interestingly, were not the leaders of local churches or denominational mission boards. They were young generations who belonged to campus ministry agencies. The question of missionary impulse, or the push factors, could not possibly provide adequate answers if we were to underestimate the newly formulated national image and the sense of calling as "a newly chosen country" for world mission among these young generations.

4. The Pull Factors: Korea as a Model Country of Development, Economically and Spiritually

If there is a missionary-sending country with missionary impulse, there is a corresponding missionary-receiving country with an accommodating spirit, each having their differing motivations. The missionary-receiving countries are not the passive beneficiaries of religious diffusion. They have their own rights and powers, visible and invisible, to select the nationality, confessional identity, gender, and the ability to provide financial subsidy, of the incoming missionaries to their country. These pulling factors on the Korean missionaries should be examined by asking why the world, albeit mostly underdeveloped countries, needs Korean missionaries today.

The invaluable advantage that Korean missionaries have, coming from a new missionary-sending country, is that they can "proclaim the gospel to the world without the baggage of colonialism."[20] In the history of modern Christian mission, it is known that three Cs went together to the non-Western world: Christianity, commerce, and civilization.[21] During the era of colonial expansion, European and North American missionaries were self-appointed with the so-called "white man's burden" to be the guardians of coloured races for the entire world.[22] Colonial officers and Western missionaries altogether believed that the people of Africa, Latin America, and Asia needed the "civilized" Christian protection of the white race.[23] The history of the Korean missionary movement has nothing to do

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[20]Sangkeun Kim, "Sheer Numbers Do Not Tell the Entire Story: The Challenges of the Korean Missionary Movement from an Ecumenical Perspective," *Ecumenical Review* 57, 4 (October 2005), 468.

[21]David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, New York: Orbis Books, 1995, 305.

[22]See William Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

[23]On the relationship between colonialism and mission in the early Spanish period, see Vincent L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian*

with these kinds of colonial or racial ramifications associated with past Western missionary movements. Rather, the modern Korean nation-building experience in the first half of the twentieth century was tightly related to the Japanese colonialism that ruled Korea with an iron fist from 1910 to 1945.

It seems the Korean missionaries have been labelled by their hosting countries as successful role models for both spiritual and economic development at the same time. They are being regarded as the religious symbols who could illustrate the best ways of achieving economical and spiritual wellbeing within Christian sentiment. According to Sung-il Hong's article, "How Does the Third World Evaluate Korean Economy," in *The Voice of Business*, the Third World sees Korea as a model country for economic development.[24] Hong cites the research reports of the Centre of Cultural Exchange in Korea, which shows the evaluation of Korea in 276 high school textbooks in 34 foreign countries. In the high-school textbooks for Egyptian students, for example, Korea's "Miracle of Han River" is introduced in detail as a superior model of economic development in the modern history of the world. Other countries, such as Uruguay, Poland, and Mongol, regard Korea as one of the industrialized and developed countries within the tenth size of economy in the world; Korea is not just the second-largest missionary-sending country. Korea is sending not only missionaries with Christian faith, but also a developing model with the amazing amount of missionary money.

As Korean missionaries emanate throughout the world, so does Korean money in the name of the missionary fund. If we accept KRIM's report on the number of Korean missionaries as 12,874 as of 2004 and it is estimated that at least $110 million per year is sent to them only for their basic living compensation, receiving $1,000 per month. No comprehensive study on the entire Korean mission finance has been produced to date, but if we add ministry expenses, such as the construction of church buildings, travel fees, insurance and pension, and education expense for the children of missionaries who usually go to English-speaking international schools, the total sum of missionary expenditure is beyond our imagination.

Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule, Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.

[24]Sung-il Hong, "How Does the Third World Evaluate Korean Economy," *The Voice of Business* 86 (September 2006).

5. Korean Evangelical Mission and Globalization

The scope and methodology of trans-national mission is, directly and indirectly, under the influence of the massive power of globalization today. The first blueprint of world mission, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*, which was presented by William Carey, claims that the success of the Western commercial expansion could be used as an example for the successful execution of a world mission.[25] During the "Great Century" of Christian expansion, the West's colonial enterprises had furnished the operative scope and methodology upon which the Western missionaries in the non-Western world could be dependent. Now, the ubiquitous presence of a globalization force in the world system plays a significant role in Christian missionary enterprises worldwide.

As Malcolm Waters argues, globalization has an ideological implication since "it appears to justify the spread of Western culture and capitalist society by suggesting that there are forces operating beyond human control that are transforming the world."[26] If that is so, the globalization force and Christian mission today have a similar ideological ramification: the Western capitalistic norm that allegedly achieved "the end of history"[27] and the Christian norm nurtured in Western intellectual traditions are the operating norms that transform the world system today. Historically speaking, the origin of the driving force behind globalization and Christian mission is Western. There are similarities between globalization and Christian mission with respect to trans-national mobility and moral justification.[28] There is, however, one exception; the emerging key players of Christian mission for the coming decades are not Westerners, although the key players of globalization forces for the immediate decades are still originating from the West. Both the globalization force and Christian mission today are Western in origin, but the agents for delivering the content differ.

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[25]William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*, Leichester, 1792; see Section IV, "The Practicability of Something Being Done," 67-76.

[26]Malcolm Waters, *Globalization*, London: Routledge, 1995, 3.

[27]Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, New York: Avon Books, 1992.

[28]For a moral justification of globalization, see Jagdish Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

The agents of Christian mission are coming from the southern hemisphere. The southward shift of the Christian centre from the northern hemisphere has been observed by numerous missiologists, including Andrew Walls, Lamin Sanneh, and Dana Robert.[29] The characteristics of "Southern Christianity," such as the independent, Pentecostal, and charismatic tendencies, have already been examined by many other scholars. It is Paul Preston, sociologist of religion, who attempts to connect the issue of globalization and the evangelical trans-national Christian mission from the southern hemisphere, with his particularly interesting Brazilian evangelicals' foreign mission.[30] According to his observation, current studies on globalization require much more interest in the grassroot religious diffusion through the migration of evangelicals from the Third World since there is an endless and simultaneous flow of capital and labour in the era of globalization.

Korea belongs to the northern hemisphere where the "old" form of Christianity is allegedly declining. It is argued that the last days of "old" Christianity in the countries of the northern hemisphere are not so far away, but Korean Christianity is one of the remarkable exceptions. In terms of doctrinal emphases and denominational loyalties, Korean Christianity is more akin to European and North American forms of "old" Christianity. However, Korean Christianity, although belongs to the northern hemisphere geographically, is still thriving and so does the Korean missionary movement. Korea's missionary enthusiasm is quite exceptional from the northern hemisphere's standpoint. It seems that Korean missionaries are delivering the familiar message of "old" Christianity in the form of American evangelicalism as the last enthusiastic mission from the northern hemisphere. Korean missionaries are the witness to the people of underdeveloped countries that shows the

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[29]See Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel Beyond the West*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2003; Dana Robert, "Shifting Southward: Global Christianity since 1945," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (April 2000).

[30]See Paul Preston, "The Transnationalisation of Brazilian Pentecostalism: The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God," in *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*, A. Corten and R. Marshall-Fratani, eds., London: Hurst, 2001, 196-215; Paul Freston, "Globalization, Religion and Evangelical Christianity: A Sociological Meditation from the Third World," in *Interpreting Contemporary Christianity: Global Processes and Local Identities*, O. Kalu, ed. (forthcoming).

American mode of evangelicalism is still working elsewhere. Here I am echoing the persuasive arguments of Steve Brouwer and his co-writers in *Exporting the American Gospel*:

> Although the new Christian fundamentalism possesses a theological doctrine and a religious practice that are American, it is in the process of becoming an international religious culture generated by enthusiastic, broad-based movements in dozens of countries. While U.S. missionaries and their resources are still very strong players, indigenous fundamentalist churches have become partners in propagating and deepening the faith.[31]

Korean missionaries belong to the people of the "indigenous fundamentalist church" that propagate and deepen the legacy of the American Gospel in the world of globalization. They are exporting prosperity theology made in the United States of America to the world. As Brouwer and others say, the Korean missionaries are an "aggressive international sales force" to distribute the gospel, stamped, "Made in the USA."[32]

6. Conclusion

The enthusiastic members of missionary religions, such as Christianity and Buddhism, interpret their missionary obligation as a God-given mandate. Their missionary impulse has been instrumental in the life and expansion of their religion itself because it represents the transcendental vision of the religion. Max Stackhouse, thus, argues:

> [M]issionizing religions are religions that, impelled be a unique revelation of a great discovery about the nature of being, or a momentous social transformation and revitalization of purpose sparked by spiritual impulses, have generated a salvific metaphysical-moral vision that they believe to be of universal import for humanity.[33]

The Korean missionaries in every corner of the world are carrying this salvific metaphysical-moral vision that they believe to be of universal importance for humanity. Or, are they simply transferring the global myth of spiritual and material success to the other side of the world? As Cobble Palm of the Philippines and Cephas Omenyo of Ghana ferociously accuse

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[31]Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel*, 6.

[32]Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel*, 11.

[33]Max Stackhouse, "Missionary Activity," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 9, 563.

the Korean missionaries of misconduct and even ignorance in their mission fields in the Philippines and West Africa, are the Korean missionaries just delivering the old and negative memories of Western missionaries to the underdeveloped countries?[34] Or, do the Korean missionaries deliver the American neo-fundamental Gospel with "a spiritual enterprise culture" that requires "in the top echelon, a kind of international manager of the spirit"?[35]

The recent demographic shift of world Christian populations from the Western world to the non-Western world has been studied by many mission theorists, statisticians, and church historians. Their statistics show that the recent change began from the second half of the twentieth century and is presently still occurring in the twenty-first century, if not accelerating. This new trend is observed in the sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and the Pacific Islands. What are the Korean missionaries doing in these regions? Are they exporting the old model of Christendom of the northern hemisphere to the southern hemisphere? Or, has "U.S. influence in South Korea helped foster notions of a messianic Korean nation allied with the U.S. global mission" so that the Korean missionaries are an "aggressive international sales force" to distribute the American Gospel?[36]

Korea, the country that had been called "a hermit nation" by the first band of Western missionaries, is now becoming one of the most enthusiastic missionary-sending countries of the twenty-first century. Korea was neglected by Western missionaries in East Asia as a mission field about a century ago, but now Korea is becoming a new axis of the Protestant missionary movement. The last shall be first? Or, the last is just repeating the same mistake as the first? Or, is the last a mere puppet salesperson for the export of the American Gospel?

As the missionary experience has been augmented, so has the critical self-reflection by the Korean missionary movement itself. As the former Western missionaries did, so do Korean missionaries need more critical

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[34]Cobbie Palm, "Toward a World Mission Tribunal," *International Review of Mission* 86 (July 1997), 289-300; Cephas Omenyo and David Choi, "Korean Missionary Enterprise in West Africa, 1979-1999: A Preliminary Study," *Exchange* 29, 3 (2000), 213-229.

[35]David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, 143.

[36]Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel*, 255.

self-assessments. Korean missionaries also need more cultural flexibility.[37] The messiah complex of Korean missionaries needs a holistic cure.[38] The *Pax Koreana* should not be pursued by Korean missionaries.[39] Lastly, ecumenical cooperation with local churches should be emphasized and pursued more frequently.[40] It seems, however, that the sociological assessments about pushing and pulling factors of Korean missionaries and their relationship with globalization aspects show a more profound reality of the Korean missionary movement today.

The Korean missionaries' sense of calling with increased national pride as a new nation coupled with the receiving countries' image of Korea as the country that has achieved simultaneous economic and spiritual success are colouring the Korean missionaries today as an aggressive international sales force of the American Gospel. It seems that Steve Brouwer and others are not just sceptical about the sociological implication of Korean Christianity with respect to its relationship with capitalistic behaviours in the age of globalization.

> Protestant behaviour in the late twentieth century seems to turn Weber on his head: rather than religious asceticism allowing for the development of capitalist behaviours, we now have capitalist behaviours adopted in order to accelerate the efficacy of religious faith. There is no better place to see this phenomenon at work than in South Korea.[41]

As the remarkable growth rate of the Christian population is subsiding, if not declining, the recent rise of the Korean missionary movement shows the Korean Christians' ability to "sell Jesus" as an imported religious product, stamped "Made in the USA." With this connection, the recent Korean missionary movement is becoming a part of the globalization force. By making this connection, I do not want to suggest that the American Gospel the Korean missionaries are delivering is spiritually powerless or religiously superficial. Rather, I suggest that the Korean missionary movement is taking a wider part of the trans-national globalization with a powerful and profound reconfiguration of itself.

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[37]Andrew Byung-yoon Kim, "Rethinking of Korean Missions," *Journal of Asian Mission* 1, 1 (1999), 101-118.

[38]Omenyo and Choi, "Korean Missionary Enterprise in West Africa 1979-1999."

[39]See Kim, "Sheer Numbers Do Not Tell the Entire Story."

[40]Palm, "Toward a World Mission Tribunal."

[41]Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel*, 116.

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RELIGION, DEVELOPMENT, AND PALAEO-TOURISM

Fossils and Ideas of Oneness at the Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Site

Maheshvari Naidu♦

1. Introduction

Ideas of oneness (of humanity) may sometimes come from sources other than those overtly religious. However, in large part, they can be seen to trace their ancestry to various world religions and religio-philosophical traditions that seek to emphasise the universality of the human condition and more so the human being. Given this, can there conceivably be some semblance of relationship between ideas of oneness and an example of development and palaeo or fossil sites tourism?

This article works from an anthropological perspective seen to be initially articulating from early ethnocentric positions on both religion and Africa and looks at some aspects around the attempt of decolonisation of Africa through the example of a particular development project of palaeo-tourism at the Sterkfontein Caves, situated in a geographical space designated "the Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Site."

A necessary corollary to any notion of decolonisation is the reclamation of dignity and humanity, here articulated as *oneness* as opposed to colonial *otherness*. The article takes as a starting point the acknowledgement that the notion of oneness or sameness has deep resonance with most major religious worldviews and works through the heuristic device of anthropology of religion and anthropology of development and looks at how tourist experiences are shaped and how such experiences may be designed to redefine the visitor's image of himself or herself as part of a larger trajectory of a common and, thus, shared or *one* prehistory. This redefinition of the visitor's sense of self in this particular context is achieved through a process of modelling the narrative around certain fossil artefacts that have been excavated in the site known as the 'Cradle' that speaks to this idea of one-ness or sameness.

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2. Anthropology of Religion

Edward Burnet Tylor, widely considered the founding figure and father of cultural anthropology, defined religion in the broadest (and simplest) academic vernacular as possible when he stated that it was a belief in supernatural beings.[1] We know, of course, that like many other terms that point to things phenomenological, it is notoriously difficult to capture definitively what exactly religion is. This is also coupled with the multidimensionality of religion as a phenomenon of lived reality that lends itself to multifarious discourses within the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, historical, feminist, etc. This means that it is not so much the dearth of alternative understandings that is the problem but rather the plethora of possible and alternate understandings of religion. From an anthropological perspective, however, as this is where I position myself, religion is approached as a scientific domain of study as anthropologists ground themselves, their observations, interpretations, and their explanations on empirically evidential and qualitatively elicited data.

Early nineteenth century anthropology and anthropologists like Tylor, Morgan, and Frazer, like many other discipline-specific scholars, were overwhelmingly dominated by theories of cultural evolutionism, and most anthropologists conveniently worked on *a priori* Cartesian assumptions that religion was either simple – that is to say, *primitive* – or modern and sophisticated.

Such a hermeneutic of world religions, rejected by later twentieth century anthropologists, was, of course, tinged with imperialistic notions of ethnocentrism. These religions were not, in any event, accorded world religion status but were rather seen as the other religions of the primitive peoples of the world. These early quasi-scholarship saw these scholars basing their analyses on third-hand accounts of missionaries and traders rather than first-hand personal and sustained (and, at times, intimate) ethnographic contact, and in some cases relationship with the religious community being studied. Their conclusions saw the *other* and religions of the *other* subsumed epistemologically (and morally) under the overarching rubric of cultural evolutionism with them concluding, in various permutations of the evolutionism premise, that the other religions were less evolved forms of their own fully evolved European selves and their European religion.

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[1]Edward Taylor, *Primitive Culture*, New York: J. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920, 1.

3. Anthropology of Development

Anthropology of development is a field newly animated by theories of globalization and trans-nationalism. Its genesis as a sub-discipline of anthropology can be traced to the application of anthropological perspectives to the multidisciplinary branch of development studies. In this context development refers to the social action by various agents, state and otherwise, who situate their work within the quarters of the developing countries. Again, scholarship is based on actual work in the field and such scholarship is not meant to change the status quo of any aspect of the studied population but to report and, thereafter, contribute to the discourse around what is happening in the doing of development. This contribution would at times provide the material for the actors in applied development anthropology who were positioned dually as scholars and activists. As such development anthropology would include classic works ranging from the likes of seminal thinkers such as Weber, Marx and Engels to more contemporary works on the politics of development knowledge, consumption, environment, gender, international NGO networks, the myriad world agencies such as IMF, and campaigns to change the World Bank.[2] Thus, in development anthropology, development is not conceived as a goal or ideal, or as a success or failure; it is rather an object of academic study.

4. Religion, Development, and Palaeo-tourism?

Africa (and the African) was seen in the early one-dimensional development analysis of being in need of development. Likewise, early scholarship on anthropology of religion saw the African as possessing a primitive and backward religion and being in need of saving. Africa and the African identity, thus, come to be constructed in a particular way in the colonial discourse as the other in need of some kind of messianic intervention and rescue.

Recent discourses around Africa and African identities seek to divest of these earlier colonial constructions and to actively engage with local understandings and constructions of identity. This identity is, in turn, assimilated into the heritage and tourism vernacular of the country. This is because heritage sites together with museums and interpretive centres are

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[2]Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds., *The Anthropology of Development and Globalisation: From Classical Political Economy to Neo-Liberalism*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004, 5-7.

narrativized spaces that showcase indigenous or local history to the local public and, perhaps more importantly, the international public. One such space is the interpretive site or visitor centre of Maropeng Complex in the Cradle of Humankind Heritage Site.

The Cradle of Humankind comprises of about forty fossil sites, of which 13 have been excavated to date. Sterkfontein Caves, owned by the University of Witwatersrand, is the most well known and fossil rich cave thus far. About forty percent of the world's hominid fossils – 'hominids' being an archaeological term for fossil human ancestors – have been found in the greater space of the Cradle. Maropeng is part of a massive development project that was envisaged as bearing a wider poverty alleviation initiative as well as a tourism development venture.

Maropeng is explained as being the product of a public and private partnership of the Gauteng government and the University of the Witwatersrand with Maropeng a'Africa Leisure (Pty) Ltd. We are told that the Gauteng government has invested 163 million rands in Maropeng's development. We are also told in the government newsletter that "Maropeng will create at least 1200 permanent jobs and serve as an important catalyst to further boost tourism-linked employment in the area." The communication continues that the "development of the Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Site as a world-class tourism destination has begun to transform what was previously one of Gauteng's poorest and economically depressed areas into one of the most promising areas in the province."[3]

5. Architectural Design

In terms of the architectural exigencies Maropeng is a Tumulus-shaped building designed to look like an ancient burial mound. The form is meant to represent the ancestors who now lie buried in African land. An article in the local newspaper tells us that the significance of the Tumulus is also to pay homage to the spirituality of burials by past societies in the area.[4]

A Tumulus is a mound of earth and stones raised over a grave. Tumuli are also known as barrows or burial mounds and can be found throughout the world. Thus, the architectural idiom is not exclusively

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[3]Lucille Davies, "Maropeng Brings Fossils to Life" and "New Look Sterkfontein Puts Life into Fossils" at http://www.org.za

[4]Lucille Davies, "Maropeng Brings Fossils to Life" and "New Look Sterkfontein Puts Life into Fossils" at http://www.joburg.org.za.

African. However, just as the structure attempts to achieve architectural symbiosis between an ancient-looking façade and modern rear, a symbiosis of ideas is achieved by working in an ancient, yet universally found architectural expression while ascribing to it what Marschall and Kearney, in reference to other buildings, refer to as African relevance, in claiming that the structure symbolizes *all those in the past who have been buried in Africa*.[5] In African traditional religions, worship and respect are offered to the ancestral beings and, thus, the belief in the ancestors (in a spiritual as well as material sense, as in the artefacts, the bones!) becomes part of the visitor's worldview. There is perhaps an interesting inversion of sorts here. The colonial past saw a certain religious worldview being foisted on the African, whereas here the international tourist is (especially) made aware of the value and import of the indigenous African worldview of ancestors and homage to the ancestors.

Furthermore, the Tumulus as stated is designed to look like an ancient burial mound from the front and a modern structure from the rear. The rear exterior itself is constructed of steel, glass and concrete. The marriage of the ancient and universal in the form of the mound roots us in the past, while modern materials and functionality place us squarely in the present. Along with the earthen mound, these serve as covert pointers to our shared common origins in the past and our evolution to the present. Or, in reverse, they suggest how our civilized present can be traced back to the rooted mound in Africa. Again, it is a reversal of the colonial worldview that placed Europe as the height of the civilized world and Africa as the dark continent of heathens with no true god.

Heritage sites are, after all, "narrativised spaces"[6] and places of consumption and, as such, they will be consumed at different levels by different categories of tourists.[7] Consumption presupposes a consumable, which, in this instance, is provided by the particular representations in the interpretive centre. Furthermore, interpretation is a communication process designed to reveal specifically constructed meanings and relationships. Thus, the design, both inside and out, is meant to facilitate us, the visitors,

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[5]S. Marschall and B. Kearney, *Opportunities for Relevance: Architecture in the New South Africa*, Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2000, 78.

[6]D. Phillips, "Narrativised Spaces: The Functions of Story in Theme Parks," in D. Crouch, ed., *Leisure/Tourism Geographies*, New York: Routledge, 2001, 91-108.

[7]B. Graham, G. J. Ashworth, and J. E. Tunbridge, *Geography of Heritage*, London: Arnold Publishers, 2000, 20.

discovering our relationship to our collective shared history, our so-called *real* roots and our sameness.

The website puts it thus: "From the moment the visitor arrives at the car park the journey of discovery starts."[8] Indeed, the sustained refrain of the website is entrenched in the slogan of "Discover Yourself." The official website explains that the name Maropeng means "returning to the place of origin," in the indigenous Setswana language. The narrative continues: "Maropeng has been chosen as the name of the new visitors centre at the Cradle of Humankind to remind us that the ancestors of all humans, wherever they may live today, originally, came from Africa. When visiting the Cradle of Humankind, people are actually 'returning to their place of origin'."[9]

6. The Logo and Narrative as Representation

The logo is said to be an artistic depiction of this place of common origin. The narrative in the webpage and pamphlet of Maropeng explains the interpretation embedded in the logo itself, stating that the depiction of the world denotes the universal significance of the Cradle of Humankind, the location of Maropeng. We are told that it is the ancestral home to all people, no matter what colour, culture, or creed they are. The various executive members of Maropeng Management, in various press releases, have echoed these sentiments, speaking of the Cradle of Humankind as if it were a kind of bequest to the living. Here, again, Africa emerges as being antithetical to the colonial dark continent and is rather the continent that dawned life to the rest of the world.

The logo of the foot in Africa stepping beyond Africa is explained as denoting humankind's origin as a species. We are told that our hominid ancestors moved out of Africa northwards, and spread across the globe, while continuing to evolve. It is told in evocative language: "Long, long ago, millions of moons back … Africa gave birth in her steamy jungles and great rift valleys and along her pristine coastlines to humankind. You and I, and all our ancestors, can trace back our bloodlines to our common ancestry in the heat, dust and beauty of this great continent."[10] The

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[8]The Maropeng Official Visitor centre at http://www.maropeng.co.za

[9]Pamphlet published by the marketing wing of Maropeng itself, *a-Africa* Maropeng, explaining the significance of the Maropeng logo and given as part of media pack to researchers and the media.

[10]Pamphlet published by the marketing wing of Maropeng itself, *a-Africa* Maropeng, explaining the meaning of the Maropeng logo.

narrative of the logo draws from sound palaeo-anthropological theories. Indeed, it carries a quotation from Phillip Tobias, the world-renowned palaeo-anatomist of the University of Witwatersrand: "In our quest to get nearer to the truth of how humans evolved, there is no part of the world that has yielded more secrets than the dozen or more fossil-bearing caves in the Cradle of Humankind."[11]

Marschall[12] states: "every new political order forms a group identity through a process of selective remembering ... usable pasts." In the case of Sterkfontein, it is a prehistoric usable past drawn selectively from science. The logo is, thus, not national wishful thinking or artistic license but based on sound scientific theory. The "politics of representation"[13] show that the narrative that wraps around this, however, is clothed in emotively rich language that celebrates this scientific theory as a socio-political vindication of Africa as the original birthplace.

7. Palaeo-Heritage, Identity, and Oneness

In an article on forging national identity, Marschall talks of the construction of a compelling foundation myth. She asserts that the foundation myth traces the roots and defines the birth of a new nation, and gives us the framework into which events and artifacts may be embedded.

In any society, certain memories are valued, because they are linked to that society's present sense of identity or a new identity it intends to foster. Through institutionalized remembrance we want to ensure that selected individual or collective memories are incorporated into cultural memory.[14] Here, though, it is not so much a myth but a scientific construct that is appropriated. Acceptance and appropriation of the Out-of-Africa Model for human evolution returns the African people to what is understood by some to be their place as pivotal actors in the saga of evolution and the culmination in humanity.

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[11]Phillip Tobias quoted in the official Maropeng pamphlet; it is taken from Professor Tobias address to world leaders and environmental experts, Thabo Mbeki, Koffi Annan, and Jane Goodall at Sterkfontein Caves in 2005.

[12]Sabine Marschall, "Making Money with Memories: The Fusion of Heritage, Tourism and Identity Formation in South Africa," *Historia* 50, 2 (2005), 19.

[13]Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, *Geography of Heritage*, 30.

[14]Sabine Marschall, "Forging National Identity: Institutionalizing Foundation Myths through Monuments," *SA Journal of Cultural History* 19, 1 (2005), 19-20.

This is the thrust of the address entitled "Africa's Roots of Humanity and Civilization," given in 2000 for Africa Commemoration Day, by Runoko Rashidi, where he asserts that his paper is designed to help reconnect and refocus the history of the African. "That Other African." This is not the stereotypical African savage, but the African that first peopled the earth, and gave birth to or significantly influenced the world's oldest and most magnificent civilizations. This is the African that first entered Asia, Europe, Australia, the South Pacific, and the early Americas not as slave, but as master. We now know, based on recent scientific studies of DNA, that modern humanity, originated in Africa, that Black people are the world's original people, and that all modern humans can ultimately trace their ancestral roots back to Africa. If not for the primordial migrations of early African people, humanity would have remained physically Africoid, and the rest of the world outside of the African continent absent of human life.[15]

Embedded in this speech by a writer-historian of sorts, are a multitude of negations. There is a vehement negation of the African as other, as the native, as the barbarian, as the uncivilized, and as the primitive and in need of help and saving. Many of these fallacies have themselves been perpetrated and perpetuated by early nineteenth century colonial anthropologists and, unfortunately, they continue to be perpetrated by a fossilized development discourse.

Compounded with this denial of African as inferior other are certain reclamations, that of the greatest antiquity, African as original, as civilized, and as authoring humanity everywhere through his prehistoric migrations. This claim to prehistory continues in the words of Rob King, the CEO of Maropeng a' Africa, who asserts that the development "is not only part of our national pride, but of the world," claiming that the centre's logo "denotes the universal relevance of the Cradle of Humankind as the ancestral home to all, no matter what colour, culture or creed."[16]

Brand manager for Maropeng, Chrissi Dunk states: "Maropeng at the Cradle of Humankind is not only part of our national pride…;" the rest of that sentence is an echo of the Rob King citation, except that she adds: "after all we share 99% of our DNA."[17] From a source seemingly incongruous with religion, it presents again the notion of overwhelming

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[15]http: //www.cwo.coml-lucomi/Runoko.html

[16]http: //www. southafrica.info/pls/procs/iac

[17]http://www.discoveryouself.co.za/sterkfontein/source/content/media

sameness. Cultural anthropology as a social science with rigorous methodological praxis does not gloss over or essentialise that one percent difference. Cultural diversity and particular cultural patterns are recognized, and cultural relativism is acknowledged. The notion of same rather than different is, however, what is more often than not the emphasised motif in world religions. Often, it is the mantra taken up by world leaders in their appeal for peace.

Thabo Mbeki, the President of South Africa, formally opened the Maropeng centre just as he had at the Sterkfontein Caves a few years before. He stated that the Cradle could be compared to a massive 47 hectare library of archaeological and palaeontological information with Maropeng offering an abundant reference section.[18]

Tasked to write a foreword to the Field Guide to the Cradle of Humankind, Mbeki asserts in much more muscular words: The book is itself an important contribution to the understanding of human evolution and emphasizes the centrality of South Africa and other countries on the African continent in unravelling the important subject of our origins.... We are able to proclaim that humanity emerged in the highlands and savannas of the vast African continent.[19] Mbeki, later, in the same foreword, goes on to say that it is these innovations and inventions (such as use of fire) evident in the Cradle of Humankind, that have allowed "humanity to colonize the entire world, and develop a variety of civilizations at different points in our history."[20] He ascribes essentially African origins to all the great ancient civilizations.

There is an interesting inversion of the word 'colonize' here, used perhaps in a more scientific idiom, as when a species makes a home in a new place. However, its use is in striking juxtaposition with the use of 'colonize' to refer to an act of dominance and control, such as when one people lays claim to and takes possession of a place away from weaker categories of people – especially since African peoples have lived a long history of slavery and oppression.

Mbeki continues that despite these essential contributions to humanity Africa today remains poor and underdeveloped as a "result of a

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[18]http://www.discoveryouself.co.za/sterkfontein/source/content/media

[19]Brett Hilton-Barber and Lee Berger, *The Official Field Guide to the Cradle of Humankind*, Gauteng, South Africa: Struik, 2004, 4.

[20]Hilton-Barber and Berger, *The Official Field Guide to the Cradle of Humankind*, 5.

brutal slave trade and subsequent colonial and neo-colonial plunder." He continues: "Accordingly, as Africans, we must overcome the debilitating effects of an unjust past that sought to inculcate the notion that black people are by nature inferior [and we] ... should help Africans realize that, having given birth to humanity, we must reverse the effects of ... dehumanization that have characterized our recent past."[21]

He ends by proclaiming his hope that "our [the government's] investment in the Cradle of Humankind ... will give the people of the world an opportunity to better understand their own origin, evolution and development into sophisticated modern human beings."[22] This emerges as a clear exercise in a sort of re-inheritance by those written out of history, with a claim now to prehistory, and reminds us that heritage is also a political resource.[23]

Of course, the earlier rejection of Africa and the African (and even African fossil heritage)[24] has been entrenched as deep intellectual superiority over the 'other' that has expressed itself in the violence of the rejection and exclusivistic denial of that other. Perhaps one of Mbeki's motives for making the whole world African in origin was to counterbalance such a history of rejection. In the new narrative representations for the artifacts, the African or native is no longer the marginalized other of the imperialistic ethnologist. In an interesting twist, the 'other' has written himself into the telling as the privileged one, and sees himself as being able to abandon the need to define himself as different in favour of subsuming all others into the same humanity. All colonial dualisms are eschewed in a bid for an oneness in a common past or heritage. Graham and others assert that the concept of a common heritage of humanity has universal appeal and serves to reinforce the ideals of human equality and common destiny, a forward-looking future.[25] In this

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[21]Hilton-Barber and Berger, *The Official Field Guide to the Cradle of Humankind*, 5.

[22]Hilton-Barber and Berger, *The Official Field Guide to the Cradle of Humankind*, 6.

[23]Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, *Geography of Heritage*, 18.

[24]For an excellent and elaborate discussion of the events around the rejection of the fossil found in Africa, see P. V. Tobias, Q. Wang, and J. L. Cormack, "The Establishment of Palaeo-Anthropology in South Africa and China: With Special Reference to the Remarkably Similar Roles of Raymond A. Dart and Davidson Black," *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 56, 1 (2001), 1-9.

[25]Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, *Geography of Heritage*, 236.

context, it is common or same descent and same origins that are reinforced.

Colonialism and scholarship entrenched in colonial methodologies have created a discontinuity[26] and render nonexistent the recording of the history of the marginalised categories of people. Throwing off the image of the native as inferior accompanies moves towards re-inserting the histories of those who had previously been ignored and deleted from history. In Jacob Zuma's (former president of South Africa) address at the National Heritage Council Civil Society Conference, he referred to the death of apartheid, itself a mode of colonialism and the birth of democracy in South Africa in 1994. He states: "... We had to introduce the history and experience of the Black majority into the archives and heritage architecture of our country. We had to reverse the legacy of apartheid, which had rendered Black people almost non-existent in the cultural institutions and symbols of our country."[27]

This transforming of identities of separateness and otherness fostered by various colonial mechanisms and introduction of the history and experience of the African majority into the archives and heritage architecture of the country necessitate an archetypal narrative of ones origin, which can either be drawn from the past or newly constructed. Though we have a genealogy of early humankind, the heroes are the famous fossils found at this site and nicknamed Taung Child, Mrs. Ples, and Little Foot. They have become the equivalent of epic heroes, whose discovery offers vindication to the supporters of the Out-of-Africa theory of human beginnings. Their discovery has also allowed for the further growth of a discourse around a newly constructed African identity that attempts to throw off the shackles of the category of other, by replacing it with the idea of oneness, sameness, and common origin.

The website of Maropeng presents Mrs. Ples and Little Foot with a history that coalesces with our present. They are the fossil conduits that help in re-claiming the past of oneness. Although more scientific descriptions of these *australopithecine* fossil finds are made in the Sterkfontein website windows, the Maropeng or the interpretive centre windows present these hominids as characters that all of us can relate to.

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[26]C. Kruger and M. van Heerden, "The Voortrekker Monument Heritage Site: A New Statement of Significance," *Historia* 50, 2 (2005), 237-260.

[27]http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/zuma/2005/jz0312.html

Each short description culminates by endorsing the idea of humankind's birth in Africa.

8. Conclusion

It is perhaps peculiar to refer to notions of religion at a palaeo-archaeological site that necessarily provides evidences of humankind's evolution as a species. Sterkfontein and Maropeng are touted as the premier archaeological and interpretive sites in the country. Here there is no reference or recourse to a god or creator as such. However, it is still a country that has for its National Anthem "*inkosi sikelele* Africa," which means "God bless Africa!" Whatever the views might be of various scientists who work at the excavation sites, of the various premiers and politicians, Thabo Mbeki included, and some of the architects involved in the designing of the centre, there is no conflict in accepting both the tenets of their respective religions as well as the theory of evolution. A close examination of their media releases and interviews shows that they appear to be more preoccupied with proclaiming the emerging status and heritage of Africa as original home to all the people of the world rather than attempting to reconcile Darwinian evolution and religious beliefs.

In the final analysis, heritage, in the context of the development project of Sterkfontein, is sold and consumed at multiple levels and through several vehicles, including both the "Sterkfontein" archaeological site and "Maropeng" interpretive site. At the latter, the narratives and architectural designs are inextricably entwined with defining a new African self, rooted in the shared common past and the birth of humanity. The visit to the Cradle is robustly touted as a return to our common roots of being one and the same. Palaeo-anthropological discoveries and theories are appropriated and pressed into the service of affirming an African identity for the world at large, with Africa declared as the home of the world's ancestors. The various representations constructed by the architects, curators, media, politicians, and others at the interpretive site of Maropeng is, thus, an unlikely but excellent candidate for an illustration of the religious notions of sameness and oneness.

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BOOK REVIEWS

G. C. Nayak, *Nirvana in Candrakirti's Prasannapada: A Study in the Madhyamika Concept of Nirvana in the Context of Indian Thought*, Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 2006, pages 107, ISBN: 81-7986-066-3.

G. C. Nayak's book entitled *Nirvana in Candrakirti's Prasannapada* is a serious attempt at analyzing the concept of *nirvana* in the Madhyamika philosophy, especially in the philosophy of Candrakirti, the great commentator of the *Mula Madhyama Karika* of Nagarjuna, the founder of Madhyamika Buddhism. Candrakirti's *Prasannapada* occupies a central place in the development of Madhyamika Buddhism in the Mahayana tradition. Nayak has chosen the central concept of *nirvana* in Candrakriti's *Prasannapada* not only to highlight the genius of Candrakirti as an original philosopher, but also to clarify and elucidate the meaning of the concept of *nirvana*. The concept of *nirvana*, like the concept of *sunyata*, has evoked many – sometimes conflicting – interpretations in the hands of the Buddhist scholars. The scholars have not only disagreed on the meaning of the concept of *nirvana* and *sunyata* but also have conflicting approaches to the understanding of the basic content of these concepts. Nayak, however, has successfully steered clear of these conflicting views and has attempted to provide a clear and unbiased account of the basic concepts of *nirvana* and *sunyata* in Buddhism.

It has been popularly believed that Buddhism is a form of nihilism because it not only denies the soul-substance but also leads to the dissolution of the individual self which is itself a complex of five elements (*skandhas*). The attainment of *nirvana* is believed to be synonymous with the dissolution of the self itself. This nihilistic interpretation of Buddhism is not only antithetical to the basic doctrines of Buddhism but also it undermines the foundations of the moral teachings thereof. G. C. Nayak has very aptly and logically argued that the Madhyamika *sunyata* and *nirvana* do not stand for emptiness or void and do not culminate in negation of the individual self. According to him, *nirvana* stands for the annihilation of the desires and the bondage created by our ignorance, while *sunyata* stands for essencelessness of the individual and the world.

The author demolishes with equal force the argument of those who believe that the Buddhist *nirvana* and *sunyata* are part of an absolute ontology that aims at establishing the existence of a transcendental reality,

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much like the Advaitic Brahman. He shows with textual evidence from both Nagarjuna and Candrakirti that *sunyata* does not imply a transcendental reality and that *nirvana* does signify a realm of absolute bliss promised in the Vedantic philosophy. The absolute interpretation leads towards making *sunyata* itself a positive reality, thus, denying the very meaning of the Buddhist dialectic of dissolving the *catuskotis* of being, non-being, both being and non-being and neither being nor non-being. Madhyamika logic is well known for its dialectical removal of all worldviews (*drsti*) in order to make man free from the thought-constructions (*kalpana*). Nayaka takes into account Candrakirti's *Prasangika* method to demolish the absolute metaphysical constructions. He contents that Candrakirti, more than any one else, has made it dialectically clear that *sunyata* does not mean any positive reality nor does it mean denial of reality altogether, but it signifies essencelessness (*nishvabhavata*) of things. Similarly, *nirvana*, for Candrakirti, means cessation of all "essentialist thought-constructions." This argument is central to *Prasannapada* which holds that *nirvana* is the annihilation of suffering through the removal of the thought-constructions.

One of the most significant aspects of G. C. Nayak's interpretation of Candrakirti's *Prasannapada* is his view that there is a strong anti-essentialism in Madhyamika Buddhism. He goes on to argue, as already stated, that *nirvana* itself is the cessation of the essentialist thought-constructions which create mental and spiritual bondage. This argument is based on the fact that the Madhyamika dialectic is essentially a critique of the thought-constructions. The Madhyamika dialectic rejects the idea that the individual entities have any essence (*svabhava*) of their own. All entities are part of a chain of a chain of interdependence or conditional origination (*pratityasamutpada*) and have, therefore, only contingent existence. In view of this, the Madhyamika thinkers declare that all objects and concepts are ultimately without essence (*sunya*).

Brining parallel from the Western thought, Nayak very aptly shows that Candrakirti's anti-essentialism has much affinity with that of Wittgenstein. Throughout his book, the author maintains that the key to the understanding of Madhyamika *sunyata* lies in the fact that concepts and entities lack essence and are to be understood only conditionally and so contingently. This is the way the doctrine of *pratityasamutpada* has to be interpreted without committing oneself to essentialist ontology. This novel interpretation of *pratityasamutpada* and *sunyata* are worth taking note of, since traditionally it has been believed that there is an ontology involved in

this doctrine. The ontological approach to Buddhism, especially Madhyamika Buddhism with Advaita Vedanta, has been the result of the ontological or metaphysical approach to the Buddhist doctrine of *sunyata*. *Sunyata*, as the word stands, can never signify any obscure metaphysical entity, be it the Absolute or any other entity. Buddhism moved away from this gross ontologism in favour of a moral framework that stands on its own without metaphysical commitment. The Buddha's silence on the metaphysical question is a reminder of this fact in the whole Buddhist tradition.

The position which Nayak drives at could be characterized in the words of Hilary Putnam, i.e., "ethics without ontology," meaning thereby that the ethics of compassion can be freed from any metaphysical position regarding man and the world. The whole Buddhist ethics, according to the author, can be summed up in "compassion" (*mahakaruna*). The Buddhist singular ethical message was that love and compassion alone can save the world. The ideal of Bidhisattva is the ideal of saving the world from suffering and pain. Citing Candrakirti's anti-ontological stance, Nayak goes on to prove that the ethics of compassion has no need of any ontological props as the immortality of soul, the permanence of substance, etc.

The ideal culmination of philosophizing in Candrakirti, as shown by G. C. Nayak, is the cessation of all thought-constructions. This is ultimately the realization of the supreme truth. This is also the *nirvana* in the sense of the realization of the essencelessness of everything (*sunyata*). Candrakirti, thus, does away with ontology and makes room for the possibility of metaphysics. However, the question may arise: Does Candrakirti not retain some minimalist ontology, namely of one's own existence, the existence of the world and the existence of others even to facilitate the realization of *nirvana*? Of course, one can argue that there is no metaphysical thought-construction in this ontology; it is but accepting the things as they are (*tathata*), or in the Wittgensteinian sense, leaving "everything as it is." Therefore, there is no ontology in the strong sense which Candrakirti rejects.

In a sense, one cannot be absolutely free from a minimalist ontology even while distancing oneself from metaphysical constructions. Besides, one cannot be free from a minimal set of concepts even in the state of philosophical illumination which is called *nirvana* because there can be no *nirvana* in a conceptual vacuum. It seems that Candrakirti would not find

it repugnant to admit the minimalist ontology because it does not threaten his main argument that we must be free from all conceptual constructions.

For Candrakirti, *nirvana* does admit of communication and transmission, even through silence. That cannot rule out the possibility of making the supreme truth codified into language, however, manimalist the linguistic articulation. This may be the reason why both Nagarjuna and Candrakirti do not see any difference between the *nirvana* (*paramartha satya*) and the *samsara* (*samvrti satya*). That is, it makes no difference whether *nirvana* is realized here and now or hereafter. *Nirvana* has no reference to space, time, and language, but the human beings who realize it are all in space, time, and language.

Thus, G. C. Nayak has made the most original and laudable attempt to make Madhyamika Buddhism intelligible as a coherent philosophical position. He has shown that in Candrakirti, Madhyamika Buddhism stands out in the clear light freed from the blemishes of mysticism and obscurantism. This work must be admired for its illuminating presentation, perspicuity of the method, and deep understanding of the Buddhist thought. *Nirvana in Candrakirti's Prasannapada* is a must for every serious scholar of Indian philosophy and especially of Buddhist philosophy.

R. C. Pradhan

Patrick Crasta, *Spiritual Accompaniment according to St. John: The Beloved Directee*, Bangalore: Asian Trading Corporation, 2007, pages xvii + 181, ISBN: 81-7086-418-6.

Spiritual Accompaniment according to St. John: The Beloved Directee, by Patrick Crasta, is an intuitive and a visionary book which can be seen as an inevitable book to be read by all who are involved in the field of spiritual formation. The author, through this book, shows his depth in the biblical studies as well as his competency in psychological counselling. He unveils his wisdom of being the formator and, at the same time, to be sure of the mission of being an eternal formee. This book is the product of deep reflection and a by-product of spiritual assimilation. There is a connecting link in all through the chapters of this book and the sequences are so well arranged that its central theme can be understood step by step. The different stages of life and the need of spiritual accompaniment are depicted in a very special way. This makes the book a unique one and the

language used is very simple that the readers will relish to read and will be nourished through its rich content. This book will also deepen the minds to know the Gospel of John in a different way.

This book is divided into 8 chapters in which the central theme is the relationship between the spiritual companion and the directee or the directees. In the very introduction, the author clarifies what he means by "spiritual accompaniment." He writes: "Spiritual accompaniment is basically a relationship. It is a process of 'being with', 'learning from' and 'feeling at home' in the company of the spiritual companion" (2). The ways and methods of Jesus, the Supreme Spiritual Companion, are human and the directee has been given the freedom of journeying with him or to stop on the way. The first seven chapters are seen as spiritual journeys in seven stages or steps in the school of spiritual accompaniment, according to the evangelist St. John (4).

The first chapter can be compared to a person who sees the well from a given distance. The second chapter is seen as one who comes secretly to see whether there is water in that well. The third chapter can be depicted as those persons who come to draw water from the well. The fourth chapter may be seen as a situation of having water and enjoys the taste of this particular well. The fifth chapter deals with the attitude of guards, who want to be by the side of the well even in the troubled times. The sixth chapter shows the touching scene of the helping hand of a spiritual companion who wants his directee to get water from the well and how to keep it filled and make it clean. The seventh chapter can be seen as effects of the water from the well, which purifies different attitudes.

In this book each chapter has a unique nature. The first chapter shows how a stranger is being made a companion. The starting point of a communication and the techniques of accepting the communicating partner are seen here. The gradual progress of a relationship is shown wonderfully and certain psychological terms, which have to be taken care in a conversation, are clarified. The second chapter depicts the character of Nicodemus, who accepts Jesus as his companion. The total change of a person is picturesquely portrayed here. His growth has been mentioned in the following words of the author: "The maturity of his personality becomes evident further in what he does in the context of the burial of his Spiritual Companion" (40). Sitting at the feet of Jesus and paying heed to the voice of the Spiritual Companion are made the duties of the directee in the third chapter. Different characters of Martha and Mary, and the

attention of Jesus towards them, are elegantly portrayed. Here, more touching is the love of Jesus towards this family. The fourth chapter gives a different picture of spiritual accompaniment. It is shown in this chapter how, in the modern situation, a spiritual companion has to behave in the process of accompaniment. In the farewell meal and in the washing of the feet, Jesus' attitude towards his disciples is clearly visible. Here the author opens the new path of relationship which has to be taken care of in spiritual formation.

In the fifth chapter, there are beautiful picturing of the cross, and those who stood at the cross, including the beloved disciple. The blessed Mary has been portrayed as a faithful directee and John is seen as the beloved directee. The divine logic and the unconditional love of the spiritual companion are depicted in a beautiful way. The sixth chapter is a fantastic presentation of accompaniment as a process of walking like a child. The need of timely help and the need of leaving alone are dealt with. There is a mentioning of independence and dependence. The great talent of the spiritual companion and the different faces of the weak formee are exemplified through Peter. The humility and the self-sacrifice of the spiritual companion as well as the transformation of the formee constitute the content of this chapter. The existence of various types of demons is discussed in the seventh chapter. The question regarding demons has been put as an inadequacy of belief. In an indirect way, the author makes some critique of lapses in faith formation: "Casting out the demons is the primary task of the directee as the extension of the person of the Spiritual Companion" (130). Here, the great role of the spiritual companion is given. The victims of negative forces are also shown in this chapter. The theme of the last chapter is lifting up of the spiritual companion from the earth. He or she has to be different. It is possible not only through one's talents, but naturally through the gift of God. The qualities of a spiritual companion are given in detail. It is centred on Eucharist.

This book will, indeed, deepen the horizon of those who are engaged in formation. Formation has to be redefined as spiritual accompaniment. The new insight on formation is the intent of this book and it would facilitate a contrast between the old mentality and the mentality of Jesus. I hope that this book would enable better awareness among the formators and new perspectives among the formees, both of which would break new grounds in the field of spiritual formation.

Ambrose Puthenveettil

Jose A. Pulickal, *Dynamics of Jesus Community: Towards the Discipleship in Lucan Theology*, Bangalore: Asian Trading Corporation, 2007, pages xxvi + 345, ISBN: 81-7086-420-9.

Dynamics of Jesus Community is an attempt to theologise Christian discipleship from a communitarian perspective presented in the Gospel of Luke. The first chapter provides an introduction to the Lucan 'way' by analysing the concept of pilgrim theology where human beings are not only the thinking subjects but also the thought-objects of theological reflection. In order to explain pilgrim theology, the author provides an analysis of 'paradigm shifts', as these shifts have led to the development of praxis-oriented pilgrim theology, which is said to be effective to deal with various crucial problems that the church faces today. One of the important characteristics of Jesus community, based on the Gospel of Luke, is its 'pilgrim theology'. To facilitate effective understanding, the author undertakes its analysis from various angles and its contextualization, especially from the pluralistic Indian milieu.

In the second chapter the author explains the concepts of *Derek* (meaning, road, movement on the road, etc.) and *hodos* (meaning, way or street in its many possible forms). These concepts are developed through analysing the usage of these words in the OT, the NT, and the Qumran literature and show how these words had evolved. Further, the author undertakes an analysis of *hedodos* as Jesus community in the Lucan literature under the headings of "Jesus community in Luke-Acts," "Background to the Lucan Theology of the Way," "Structure of the Travel Narrative in Luke," and "Ministry of Jesus as *hehodos*." By basing on the Lucan theology, the author establishes that the Christian movement is *hehodos* and Jesus community is the archetype of the church.

The following chapter is devoted to an exegetical analysis of Lk. 4:16-30, the Nazareth Manifesto, with special reference to 9:51-56 and Acts 1:8 to provide a deeper understanding of the dynamic spirit of Jesus community. Here the writer calls our attention to the setting and social structure of Lk. 4:16-30. The time of Jesus' ministry was rightly characterized by multifaceted crises that affected all areas of Jewish life due to the colonialism. The Jewish society was tormented culturally and the poor were exploited. The Lucan community predominantly consisted of gentile Christians who had been facing the challenges of integrating with Hellenistic culture along with political economic oppressions. Thus,

the passage proclaims the liberation of the oppressed and challenges the unjust social relationships. With this background, the author makes a detailed exegetical analysis of Lk. 4:16-30. He has taken great pains to explain the passage in relation to the Book of Isaiah. Here I would like to state that the author insistently brings out the contextualized meaning of the passage with special reference to the poor, especially in the context of poverty experienced in the Indian context. Thus, this chapter turns out to be the crux of better and deeper understanding of the Lucan vision of the pilgrim community of Jesus.

Jesus community is studied with the help of relevant Lucan texts related to Jesus' ministry and his vision about the disciples, keeping in mind, that it is the very same Gospel community that had been growing as *ekklesia* after the ascension. The major themes explained here are the poor, table fellowship, compassion and mercy, prayer and sharing, etc. The concept of poor includes all the less-privileged and the abandoned people; Jesus' solidarity with them can be seen throughout his proclamations and ministries. Jesus' table fellowship with tax collectors and sinners has great relevance in understanding his radical approach towards the marginalized ones of the society. Jesus, the incarnate compassion of God, expresses his mercy through his ministry and proclamation. The author highlights the theme by explaining the parables of the lost sheep, prodigal son, etc., and deeds such as pardon for the sinful woman, incident of Zacchaeus, etc. The foundation of this sharing community is the Abba-experience and the vision of kingdom. The Gospel of Luke ends with the exhortation of Jesus about the universal mission and of the Acts of Apostles, written by himself, shows the growth of the church from particular to universal, from exclusiveness to inclusiveness, and from being that of Jews to the Gentiles.

After building scientific and logical foundation based on Lucan theology the author takes the reader to the Indian context. In the first section of this contextualization of Jesus community, the author explores the dynamism of the *Margasastra* of early St. Thomas Christians in India, which had no hierarchical discriminations among the faithful, but the differences were in the ministries; either way the unity of the community in Jesus Christ was thoroughly maintained. The author presents the '*marga*' to draw inspiration from that lived-reality for conceiving an ecclesial community in the contemporary India, which can effectively face the challenges such as poverty, unemployment, corruption, oppression of dalits, terrorism, exploitation of women and children, neo-colonization

through globalization, etc. Some of these sections are of critical nature and they throw light on institutionalization of the church, clergy's identification of themselves with the church, church's association with the middle and upper classes, etc. The discussion concludes with the dynamics of Jesus community for the church in India.

In the conclusion, the author most powerfully establishes the fact that hierarchical and institutional system of ecclesial paradigm must be shifted to collegial, communitarian, and people-oriented methods which would have resonance and impact upon the practical realms of people's ecclesial life.

Dynamics of Jesus Community is an admirable study that incorporates both theory and praxis; it inspires the Indian church with rich insights to build up a Kingdom-centred ecclesial community which is rooted in the unconditional love of Abba, the Father. The book has the potency to get a wider readership, especially from different platforms of Indian mission and theological deliberation.

Samji Vadakedam

Zacharias Mattam, *Not I, but Christ Lives in Me: Spiritual Life as Mystical Union with Christ*, Bangalore: Kristu Jyoti Publications, 2007, pages: xix + 406, ISBN: 81-87370-42-4.

Not I, but Christ Lives in Me is a profound study of God's presence in human life. Scholarly reading is made easy with lots of references from different sources. The author, in the initial part, clarifies the terms and concepts, such as 'spiritual life', 'Christian', etc., by providing novel insights.

I liked the way the author starts to introduce the topic to the reader. He has put the theme as "walking with God" and gives a satisfactory answer quoting St. Paul. According to Paul, the Christian at baptism is so deeply united with Christ that it is not an individual but Christ who lives and acts through him. The presentation part of the theme is simply the best in the text.

The search in the scriptures is quite deep and interesting. The author begins with God's presence with Adam, Noah, etc. As we dwell on this topic further, we see God's assurance to Moses saying, "I will be with you." The prophets such as Elijah, Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah had personal experience of God and lived in constant communion with Him, listening to His words, speaking in His name and proclaiming His will to the people.

This experience shows that the presence of God with the Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Testament is a dynamic presence, transforming their lives and making them fruitful and instruments of blessings and salvation to others.

The author also presents the goodness of God towards human beings, though many a time man failed and went astray from God and out of His love for them; repeatedly He has forgiven them. In the Book of Exodus, we are reminded of Moses' prayer for forgiveness of the people. He goes on to explain the existence of the temple which becomes the centre of the life of Israel and also the centre of all Messianic and eschatological hopes. So, the author rightly expresses quoting Hos. 6:6: "I want love and not sacrifice the knowledge of God and not holocausts." The author goes on to explain how each incident is related to the new Adam and new Moses, that is, Jesus. He holds that the mission of the prophets represented the prophetic aspect of the Messiah and the new temple is Christ's body.

Christ's presence with us is a grace available for all of us, an invitation to enter into personal communion with God. This presence transforms our barrenness to fruitfulness, leading to a new life for the glory of God and His people. Therefore, the whole Christian life becomes a liturgy of holiness offered on the altar of the will of God for the salvation of the world. This idea is well presented at the end of first chapter.

The second chapter speaks about living in communion with God through feasts, through His Word and His Spirit in the OT and its fulfilment in Christ. Here, as the author speaks about the communion through feasts he gives possible details; it, however, sounds to me not very convincing (he uses the expressions such as 'some have suggested…'). At the same time, his analysis and explanation of Passover, Pentecost, Feast of Tabernacle and even the Feast of Dedication seems to enjoy more authenticity.

Secondly, the idea of 'the presence of God through His Word' is presented beautifully. He speaks about the Word that enlightens, calls to conversion, a Word that consoles, a Word that loves, and a Word that reveals itself. The author explains the journey God made to reveal Himself to human beings, starting with the OT and climaxing in the NT. The whole idea that the Holy Spirit who was revealed in the OT is 'Spirit of God' is revealed in the NT as 'Spirit of Christ'; in this connection, the author seems to explain how Jesus was conceived and, later, led by the power of the Holy Spirit, how Jesus passed on the Holy Spirit to his disciples and

"... became a life Giving Spirit" (1 Cor. 15:45). Thus, he concludes this chapter affirming that Christian life is a mystical union with Christ.

The third chapter invites us to know what this Christian mystical union with Christ is like in the NT. The author rightly says that Jesus Christ is the Promised Messiah, the living Temple and Tabernacle of God's presence, the eternal life. Through Him all families of the earth are blessed. In chapter three, the author opines that the word 'election' may not be an appropriate word because the disciples of Jesus were the choice of Jesus Christ Himself and they were selected and not elected. Secondly, the confession of Peter and the revelation at the transfiguration are the proofs that Jesus is the Son of the Living God. This knowledge of Christ is possible only with a radical conversion.

Further he depicts in the gospel of John the significance of what the mystical union of the Christian with Christ is. He says that the disciple is called to abide in Christ and Christ abides in him in this way becoming one being with Christ. To remain in Him is the essence of discipleship and of the Christians' mystical union with Christ, according to Jn. 15, 1-8. So, the Eucharist remains as the mutual indwelling of Christ and the Christian. He dwells on this topic showing how Christ becomes the bridge between God and the people and how Christian mystical union with Christ implies fellowship with the Father. Quoting letters of St. Paul, he shows how Jesus Christ reveals the Father, making a gift of His own relationship with the Father to the Christian: "... for God's temple is holy, and that temple you are" (1 Cor. 3:16-17). The resurrection of Christ and the gifts of the Holy Spirit are the guarantee that the spirit bears witness to our spirit that we are sons of God. In conclusion to this chapter he invites the reader to see how the community of Galatia concretely lived this mystery and responded to the problems they had faced. This becomes the heart of the authors thesis which goes on to prove that "*not I, but Christ lives in me.*"

Chapter four explains how the Christian is transformed into Christ. He narrates Paul's journey to Damascus – his conversion, call, and commission. Paul was made new; he spoke not of himself anymore but of Christ the risen Lord. According to him, man is justified by faith in Christ and not by good works (Gal. 2:16). By the very baptism he says that the Christian is transformed into Christ. The new life that the Christian lives is made possible by the self-gift of Christ and so the Christian's mystical union with Christ implies the gratuitous, unconditional and personal love for Christ. To conclude, he says that every Christian is called to respond to

Christ's love, for the supreme gift a person can make to another is gift of his life.

Chapter five explains the invitation that every Christian intimately receives. Therefore, it is of supreme value to live in intimate relationship with Christ. He gives Mary as the model of our mystical union with Christ; for, she was the temple of the living God at the annunciation and the living Ark of the Covenant at the visitation. The final stage of the Christian's mystical union with Christ is the transformation of the Christian into Christ and the gift of entering into the life of trinity, living in filial relationship with the father through Christ in the Spirit.

Finally, the author makes a brief theological synthesis by summing up the main characteristics of the Pauline concept of Christian life as mystical union with Christ. This is made possible to every Christian, as we are given the fullness of faith, hope, and charity. Indeed, all other virtues of Christ are made possible only in being united with Him.

Not I, but Christ Lives in Me is a work of high theological value; its interpretations are of great value to understand the dynamics of Christian living, especially in terms of the intimate relationship that is expected of every Christian disciple. May this work bring cheer and joy in the lives of many a Christian, especially in the trying times that Christians are passing through in various parts of the globe.

Roque D'Cunha

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